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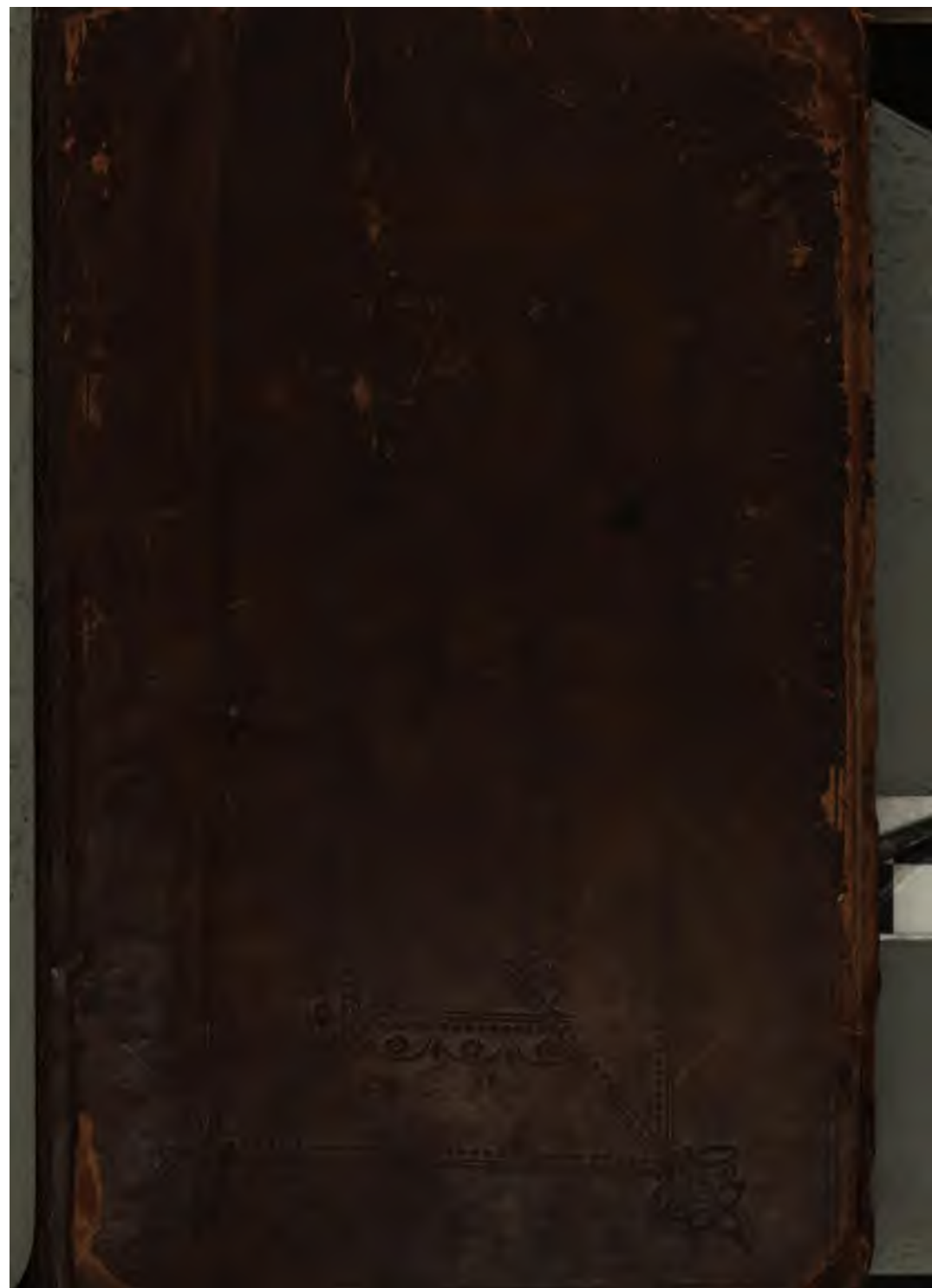
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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial statements. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses, income, and transfers.

The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the accounting cycle. It outlines the ten steps involved in the process, from identifying the accounting entity to preparing financial statements. Each step is explained in detail, with examples provided to illustrate the concepts.

The third part of the document discusses the various types of accounts used in accounting. It categorizes them into assets, liabilities, equity, revenue, and expense accounts. It also explains how these accounts are used to record transactions and how they are balanced at the end of each period.

The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of the accounting equation. It explains that the total assets of a company must always equal the total liabilities and equity. This equation is the foundation of the accounting system and is used to check the accuracy of the records.

The fifth part of the document discusses the various methods used to record transactions. It compares the double-entry system with the single-entry system and explains why the double-entry system is more accurate and reliable. It also discusses the use of journals and ledgers to record transactions.

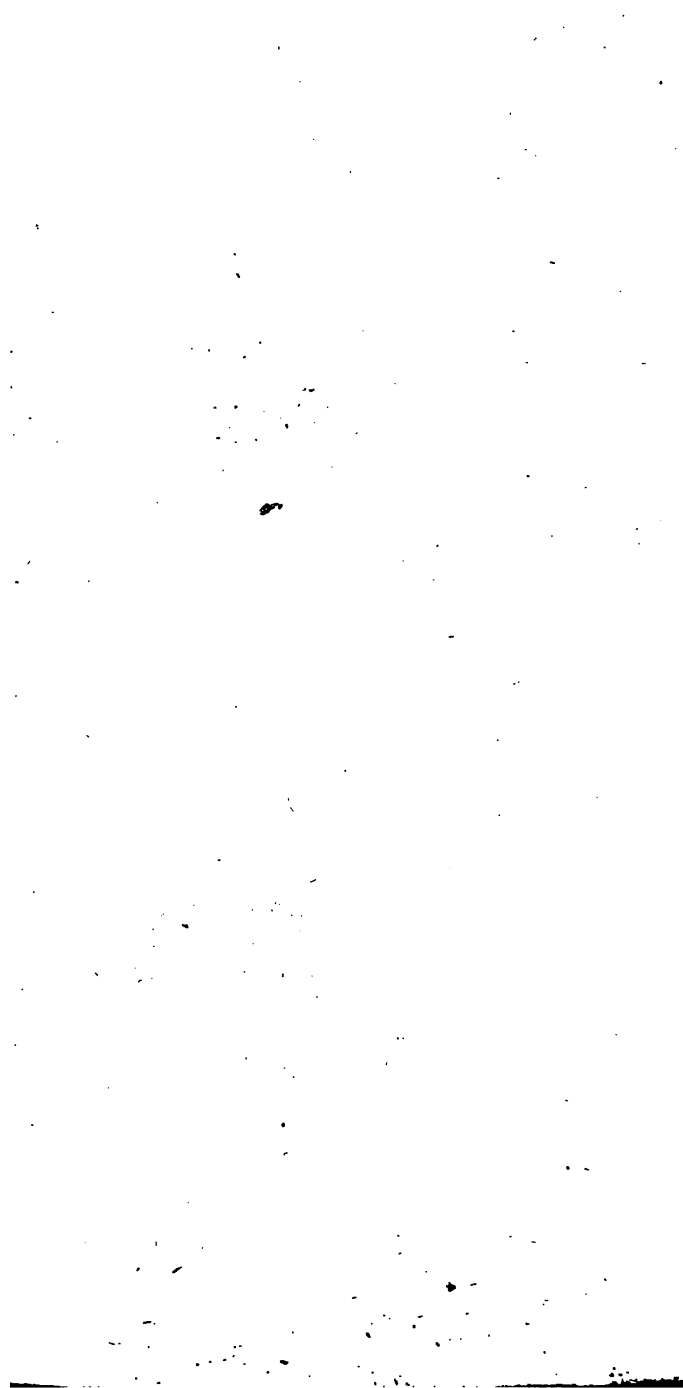
The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of the closing process. It explains that at the end of each accounting period, the temporary accounts (revenue, expense, and dividend) must be closed to the permanent accounts (assets, liabilities, and equity). This process ensures that the financial statements for the next period start with a clean slate.

The seventh part of the document discusses the various types of financial statements. It explains the purpose of the balance sheet, the income statement, and the statement of owner's equity. It also discusses how these statements are prepared and how they are used to evaluate the financial performance of a company.

The eighth part of the document discusses the importance of the accounting system in the business world. It explains that accurate accounting records are essential for making informed decisions, for complying with tax laws, and for providing a clear picture of the company's financial health.

The ninth part of the document discusses the various types of accounting systems. It compares the manual system with the computerized system and explains the advantages and disadvantages of each. It also discusses the importance of choosing the right accounting system for a business.

The tenth part of the document discusses the various types of accounting professionals. It explains the roles of accountants, auditors, and tax preparers. It also discusses the education and training requirements for these professions.



*Free Thoughts*  
ON  
RELIGION,  
THE  
CHURCH,  
AND  
National Happiness.

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By B. M.

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L O N D O N

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T H E

# P R E F A C E.



*W*IL Custom often fastens an odious Signification on Words that do not deserve it, and which in Justice of Speech cannot be used but in a good Sense: So Bigots, and the Enemies of Truth, would insinuate that Free Thoughts must be Impious and Atheistical, in the same manner as lewd Debauchees by the Words Good natur'd Lady would have you understand a Whore. That this Bugbear has not frighten'd me, Reader, you

see,



see, but that it likewise may not deter you from perusing the following Sheets, I shall keep you in no Suspence, but in as few Words, and as fast as I can, acquaint you with the Design and Argument of them. The whole you will find divided into Twelve Chapters.

*I N the First, I treat of Religion in general, of Deism and Atheism, both Speculative and Practical, of Christians, and to whom we ought not to deny that Name. I demonstrate, that what is commonly understood by Faith and Believing, is the easiest part of Christianity, in which very few are defective; but that the most difficult part of our Religion consists in conquering our Passions for the Love of GOD, and in Obedience to his Commands. I touch upon the wrong Notions the Vulgar have concerning these Matters, as well as the Degrees of Offences committed to GOD. I speak of Sin, and what makes an Action such. Lastly I prove from the main Doctrine of the Gospel, that Christians, who are observing of their Duty, cannot hate others upon any Religious Account whatever, and from thence draw a Conclusion conducing to Peace and mutual Concord.*

*I N the Second, I urge still further, that the worst of Sinners seldom offend for want of Faith, and endeavour to prove, that most  
Chri.*

*Christians are convinc'd of their Trespases, and a future State, and that the Wishes even of very wicked Men are generally Virtuous; but that the difficulty they meet with in the real Amendment of the Heart; being almost unsurmountable, they seek out for an Equivalent to rid them of their Fears; that this they find in the Observance of some of the Branches of seeming Piety and Devotion in appearance, altogether foreign to real Virtue; that Men have all along been encouraged in this Delusion by Priestcraft; and lastly, that by relying too much on the Efficacy of such outward Forms, they learn to remove those terrible Apprehensions, which the want of true Religion never fails to produce, till they have deceiv'd their Consciences into a perfect Ignorance of themselves. To render this important Truth the more useful and conspicuous to every Reader, I have illustrated what I have said in three very different Characters, with which I conclude that Chapter.*

*IN the Third, Rites and Ceremonies are treated of, relating to Publick Worship, and some Differences touch'd upon between our National Church and those who dissent from it. Throughout the whole, my Aim is Peace and Union, and my only Endeavour, if not to reconcile them, at least to remove the ill Opinion which the Clergy on both sides have taught them*

## The Preface.

entertain of one another, and which I demonstrate to them, is much worse than either of them deserve. The Reader will observe, that in my Addresses to both Parties, as I speak to either, I am rather leaning on the side of their Adversaries, which I have done for no other end than that I thought it the Duty of a Man, who hopes for Success in a Mediation between two Enemies. I end with setting forth the Benefit that will accrue to both Parties from making use of the healing Maxims I propose.

IN the Fourth, I speak of Religious Mysteries in general, and more particularly of the Trinity, shew the Difference between Knowledge and Belief, and touch on the Divinity of **JESUS CHRIST**, and the **HOLY GHOST**. I deny nothing of what our Church asserts concerning this Mystery, without judging uncharitably of others for refusing to comply with every Syllable of the Athanasian Creed. I touch on the Credulity of the Ignorant, I dissuade from dogmatizing in Matters of Faith, and the Inhumanity of imposing upon one another Creeds of Humane Invention: Since the Holy Scripture must be the sole Rule of Faith, and every one at last must judge for himself. These Sentiments I confirm with Quotations from two eminent Prelates of our Church. I wind up all with a plain Distinction between what

## The Preface.

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*what is above Reason, and what is against it, to convince of their Errors first the vain and arrogant Philosopher, who puff'd up with his own Sufficiency, has too narrow a Thought of GOD's Omnipotence, and rejects Mysteries for no other Reason, than that they surpass his Understanding; Secondly the Priest-ridden superstitious Bigot, who shuts his Eyes to common Sense, and stupidly imagines, that he can believe plain Contradictions.*

*THE Fifth, I open with a Discourse on the Will, and examine into the freedom of it: I touch upon Predestination, and the grand Objection that lies against it: I set down the System of the two Principles, dip into the Controversies concerning the Origin of Evil, and make Remarks on several Answers of the Fathers to the Manichees, and the Argument of Epicurus against Providence. I demonstrate on the one Hand, that a Supposition of the most absolute Free-will, such as the Socinians hold, cannot solve the Difficulty it should remove, and on the other, that no Predestinarian, who has only Natural Reason to assist him, can avoid making GOD the Author of Sin: From thence I conclude, that in the Affair of Free-will and Predestination, one of the greatest Mysteries of the Christian Religion is envelop'd, and therefore is a fitter Subject for the exercise of Humility and Tolleration,*

*than it is for Disputes and Animosities. To corroborate this Opinion I refer to St. Paul, who asserts Predestination in the plainest, and states the Objection against it, in the harshest manner, without so much as endeavouring to answer it, or solving the Difficulty any other way than by his humble Resignation to the unsearchable Depth of the Divine Wisdom. I exhort Men to follow the Example of the Apostle, and cease to contend for what neither Party can demonstrate, and leave off with a bright Example of Moderation, which I recommend to all Clergymen.*

*IN the Sixth, I enquire into the Cause of the Affliction and Esteem the Vulgar have for Temples abstract from Religion. I prove, that as their Incapacity hinders them from being affected with true Holiness and Spirituality, they are forc'd to transfer the respectful Awe, which their Superstition fills them with, on Things visible, and such as fall under the Senses, and that consequently Churches must be the chief Object of their Adoration. I speak of the use that has been made of this Frailty of the Vulgar in all Religions: I take Notice of the various Significations of the Word Church, and the Benefit of knowing them. I touch on the miraculous Manner after which the Gospel was propagated in the Time of the Apostles, and the different Methods their Successors have made use*

*use of since. I illustrate the Heroism of the Clergy with several Examples from History, that evidence the vast Prowess that has been express'd, and the great Hazards that have been run for the Advancement of the Temporal Grandeur and Authority of the Church; and lastly, I demonstrate that the Protestant Clergy have not discover'd less Fondness for Power and Dominion, since the Reformation, than the Roman Priests, whom they separated from chiefly upon that Account.*

*IN the Seventh, I observe, that to get Wealth, and raise the worldly Greatness of the Church, the Policy of the Clergy has not been inferiour to their Courage. I speak of the wrong and impious Use they perverted to, for their own Gain, what the Gospel teaches concerning the Soul's Immortality, their Zeal and Inveteracy against Humane Learning, in order to breed Ignorance and Superstition, their Anger and Indignation against those of their own Profession, who at any time attempted to undeceive the People. I give Examples of the Church's strict Adherence to her Friends, and her inviolable Esteem to those who promote her Temporal Interest, and her Resentment, and the Violence of her Hatred against all, even the best of Men, who question her Authority, or touch upon her failings of the Clergy. I relate what Popes are requir'd*

*requir'd to be, and give some Instances to prove, that the Cause of Religion at Rome is post-pon'd to the Temporal Interest of the Church. I mention other Branches of Priestcraft, pious Frauds, Calumnies and downright Falsties, which the Fathers, to promote the worldly Grandeur of the Church, have made use of in refuting the Heathens, and conclude with a remarkable Instance of Insincerity, which Protestants have been guilty of in their Controversies against the Papists.*

*IN the Eighth, I treat of Schism, and the Cause of it, and relate several Extravagancies of ancient Hereticks, and others, since the Reformation: I hint at the Nuisances that were removed from the Church by the Reformation, and particularly the Celibacy of the Clergy, and I speak of the ridiculous Pretensions to Chastity that have been made by the Church of Rome. I assert, that these very Nuisances were the Tools, by the Help of which the Church of Rome had triumph'd over all the Schisms and Heresies till the Reformation, and that the Protestant Clergy, as soon as Schisms arose among themselves, perceiv'd what they had parted with, were sorry for it, and have been labouring ever since to find out Equivalents for what they lost. I speak of the Dissenters, and Quarrels of the Protestant Clergy with one another, and their Aversion to a Re-union, and those who have endeavour'd*

*to procure it; and I prove from their own Testimonies how unfairly they have dealt with one another: I point at an easy Remedy to prevent Schisms, or at least the Mischiefs that are occasioned by them, and end with the Imputations and Slander, which the Orthodox and Dissenters in England sling at each other.*

*IN the Ninth, I prove from the Temper of the Clergy, shewn in the foregoing Chapter, that a Schism once broach'd, is not to be cur'd but by Death, Banishment, and an utter Extirpation of the Schismaticks, and therefore plead for Tolleration, and assert, that the National Church in every Country is for Persecution. This I prove to be true by Examples and Quotations not only of the great Sticklers to the Papal Authority, and other Roman Catholicks, but likewise of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and all Clergymen, when oppos'd and in Power. I prove, that National Churches allow not Schismaticks to be sincere in their Opinions, whatever they suffer for it: That those who were persecuted, as soon as their Sect is uppermost, and they are able, treat others who differ from them, just as they had been treated before themselves; that the Reasons and Arguments for Persecution, allodg'd by the Protestants against the Dissenters, are the same not only as Papists made use of against the Reformers and the Orthodox above a Thousand Years ago against*  
the



*the Hereticks, but likewise the same which the Pagans used against the Primitive Church, and I give an Instance where a Defender of the Heathen Faith, after a cruel Persecution, treated the Christians, and their Religion, with as much Pity and Contempt, as the most haughty Rigorist of the Orthodox could the sylliest Enthusiast. I shew the Insignificancy of persecuting by Halves: I hint at the Barbarity with which the Gospel has been propagated in America, and the East-Indies, and Orthodoxy maintain'd in other Places. All these I offer as Arguments against Persecution, and point at a Remedy to prevent the Evils apprehended from an excessive Tolleration. I speak of Civil Wars from Religious Quarrels, draw a Veil over own Misfortunes, and from the Examples of Calamities which others have suffer'd, I endeavour to deter the Reader from the first Approaches that might lead to such fatal Times.*

*I N the Tenth, I assert, that Pre-eminence is due to the Ministry of the Gospel above all other Callings: That in the foregoing Chapters I have said nothing against the Clergy to render them odious to the Laity, and that the most eminent in other Professions are guilty of gross Failings, as destructive to their Functions as those I have charged the Clergy with; that all Things have a wrong Side, and that we ought to distinguish between the Intent of a Calling, and what*

*what it may be perverted to. I prove, that in all Professions Men make the most of their Business for their own Ends; that from our Infancy we are taught to mind and take Care of our selves; that if Men are more encroaching in one Profession, than they are in another, it proceeds from nothing but their having a greater Opportunity; but that Men of all Professions would lord it over others if they could. I prove that Men in all Employments boast of their Original, if it be to their Advantage, though they are vastly degenerated, and act from quite contrary Principles. I prove at large, that after the Time of the Apostles, as soon as the Ministry of the Gospel became a Profession that Men were brought up to for a Livelihood, the Clergy have not been less guilty of Fraillties and Vices, or possess'd with more Worth or real Goodness than the Laity. From thence I infer, that the Clergy ought not to be more independent on the Government than the Laity, or enjoy any Privilege or Power to injure others with Impunity, more than is allow'd to Men of other Professions; and I endeavour to refute what is generally alledg'd against this Assertion. I insist upon it, that this Maxim of keeping Clergymen in due Bounds of Obedience, interferes not with the Veneration due to their Order, or their enjoyment of worldly Comforts equally with the Laity,*  
and

and give an Instance of good Harmony and commendable Behaviour between the Clergy and the Laity. I speak of Preaching, and the several ways it is made destructive to the Peace of the Society. I give Cautions to prevent the Mischiefs that may be occasioned by it. I detect the Insincerity of several Pretences and Evasions often made by Seditious Preachers. I give an Instance of a Pious Man, and one of the greatest Reformers, who, led away by Zeal or Passion, preach'd a Sermon that tended to Sedition. I demonstrate, that to sow Discord, is a more heinous Crime in a Clergyman, than it is in any other, and remove the Scruples that are made against punishing them. I conclude, with insisting upon it, that the two Points I have chiefly urg'd in this Chapter, are not inconsistent together, and illustrate my Sentiments concerning our Behaviour to the Clergy, in a Comparison which no reasonable Man will be offended at.

IN the Eleventh, I speak of Government in general, and our Constitution in particular. I assert, that no Government can subsist, to which a Passive Obedience is not paid, and examine into the Cause of our Quarrels concerning that Doctrine. I enquire into the Supreme Power, and whole Sovereignty of the Nation, and prove that our unlimited Obedience is only due to Commands given by the

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*Three Estates joyn'tly. I demonstrate, that the Power to make Laws must include a Power of preserving them from being violated with Impunity; that a great Share of the Sovereignty remains Virtually in the People, and that the high Prerogatives of the King interfere not with the Liberties of the People. I prove, that it is easy to know when the King breaks his Contract with his People, and give Reasons, why a Contract ratify'd. between them ought to be no less binding to the one than it is to the other. I touch upon the Succession, and the Divine Right of Kings, and show the Absurdity of maintaining, that GOD enjoyns us Obedience to Monarchy only with Exclusion of all other Forms of Government. I state two Objections, the one against that Share of Sovereignty which belongs to the People, the other against the Validity of those Laws that have made an Alteration in the Succession. To solve these, I take Notice of the Difference between later and former Times; as to the Situation of Power among the Three Estates, which furnishes me with Arguments to answer the Objections. I prove that the Enemies to the present Establishment, are inconsistent in their Complaints, and speak of Oaths, and Swearing with Mental Reservation. I enquire into the Legitimacy of the Pretender, and prove it to be doubtful at last: I set forth the Conjunction of Time he  
was*

*was born in, and end with a Character of King William the Third, to whom we owe the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover.*

*IN the Last Chapter, I enumerate the Native Blessings of Great Britain, especially the South Part of it, and reckon our Laws and Liberties to be the greatest. I enquire into the Reason of our Discontents, and compare our Murmurs and Uneasiness to the Complaints of those who are afflicted with the Spleen. I exhort to Wisdom, and define it. I speak of Courts, and the Persons they are generally compos'd of. I explode our Partiality concerning Ministries and Statesmen. I dissuade Men from relying too much on their Honesty on the one Hand, and from misconstruing their Actions on the other. I demonstrate, that many of our Complaints are unreasonable, and that in some real Grievances the Evil is much inferiour to our Apprehensions of it; that the Expedient our Malecontents wish for to redress them, is impracticable, without the Ruin of half the Nation, and that the very Attempt to compass it must be attended with greater Calamities, than can befall us under the present Establishment. I touch on the Peerage-Bill, the War with Spain, and the keeping of Gibraltar.*

braltar. I set forth what is required as to Religious Matters, to procure Peace and Felicity to a Nation. I hint at several Sets of People, whose Murmurings are not to be regarded, and conclude, that it is our own Faults if we are not happy.

THOSE who are vers'd in Books will soon discover, that I have made great Use of Monsieur Baile, without mentioning him. I confess, he is the learned Man I speak of in Page 93. The Citations likewise which I have borrow'd from that Author, without naming him, are many. Had this been done out of Vanity to compliment my self, or disregard to the Honour of that Great Man, I would have been wise enough not to have spoke of it now: The Reasons I had for doing as I have done, are more than one: In the first Place, Monsieur Baile's Dictionary is not common, but among Men who have great Libraries, and quoting it would have signify'd little to the greatest part of my Readers. As to the Truth of Facts, which is the most material, the Authors and Evidences I quote, are the same as are in the Dictionary, which, if I had referr'd to, the Reader could have learn'd no more by searching after the Authors there quoted, than what now he may do by looking be-

\* b fore

fore him, without any further Trouble. Besides, I imagin'd, that it would be unpleasant, if not disgustful, to see the same Name so often repeated in the Notes, especially to those who are unacquainted with the Vastness of that Work.

I shall make no further Apology for any Part of the Performance. I can see a great many Faults in it, more than I know how to mend. Was it equal with the Design, there would be but few better Books in the World; as it is impossible I could have had any other Aim but the Common Good, and the Publick Tranquility, methinks I hear the Candid Reader say, What pity it is, a Man with so good a Design, should not be better qualify'd! This will never displease me, and I envy not the Men of brighter Parts, and greater Genius, their uncommon Capacities, whilst they are labouring to fasten Calumnies on their Adversaries, conceal the evil Actions and worse Designs of their own Party, and neglect no Artifice to be gracefully Disingenuous.

WHAT I would vindicate, is not the Strength of my Understanding, but the Rectitude of my Will. Had Interest or Vain Glory influenc'd my Labours, my Pains might have

*have been better bestow'd than to rush between two Enemies that hate every Body who strives to part them,*

*I well know the common Fate of Moderation; it neither procures you Friends, nor appeases your Enemies, and fixes a Man as a Mark to the two Factions, that place themselves in the opposite Extream: But I have still worse to fear, considering the bold Truths I have spoke; and many will wonder at my Temerity, and ask, Who is it; Has he a great Estate? What Calling, or Employment does he follow? Does he ever intend to thrive, or indeed to live? Is he Pistol proof, and does he imagine, there are no Daggers, nor no Poyson in the World? I am not Ignorant of the Hazards I ran; but what lessens my Apprehensions is, that I can never suffer but from the unjust Resentment of those, great Part of whose Duty consists in teaching others to have none.*

*AT all Events I have performed a good Action; for when a Man endeavours to promote the Interest and Temporal Felicity of the Nation he lives in, without Detriment to any other, or Deviating from the Path of*



*Virtue, to find out Ways to heal our Divisions, and the unhappy Breaches of Parties, without injuring any, by Remedies both easy and pleasant, that shall not only cost nothing, but moreover be a visible Security to every Man's Possession, and heighten all manner of Satisfaction a good Man can wish for in the Enjoyment of them.*

*WHEN a Man writes in Defence of Truth and Liberty, without offending GOD, the least Injury to the Civil Power, or ill Manners to Superiours: When he speaks up for, and exhorts to true Piety, with Plainness and Sincerity, without Fiction or Enthusiasm, without Slandering, or misrepresenting even the worst or the least Shadow of Flattery to any Mortal: When by strengthening the Authority of Sovereigns, he strives to banish Discord and Animosities from the Society, and recommend Peace and Union to all Communions, as well as Charity to all Mankind; When a Man is Conscious of all this, he may, without any Prejudice to his Modesty, pronounce his Work a good Action, though it had no other good Quality besides. This is a Thought he may reflect upon; he may pause, he may ruminate, and after all, have the solid Satisfaction, without flattering his Performance,*

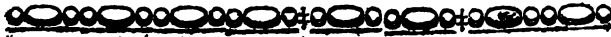
*vanance, or entertaining Romantick No-  
tions, to imagine and assure himself, that  
whilst he is employ'd in the Pursuit  
of such Ends, and dyes in such a Cause,  
Time cannot be better spent, nor Life better  
lost.*





## ERRATA.

**P**AGE 6. Line 22. r. *Ordinaries*, p. 7. l. 19. after *Command*  
dele *the*, p. 42. l. 7. after *of* add *the*. p. 54. l. 19. r. *the*  
*Usages*. p. 75. l. 16. after *only* add *one*, p. 95. l. 26. r. *Here-*  
*ticks*. p. 104. l. 6. r. *preceding*. p. 120. l. 28. r. *were*. p. 198. l. 17.  
r. *desiring*. p. 205. l. 27. for *of* r. *the*. p. 262. l. 23. dele *it*.  
p. 274. l. 2. r. *Immunity*. p. 289. l. 6. after *all* add *these*. p. 299.  
l. 22. after *better* add *of the*. p. 330. l. 13. r. *would admit*. p.  
332. l. 17. for *and* r. *or*. p. 360. l. 13. r. *reivyses*.





T I T L E S  
O F T H E  
C H A P T E R S .

C H A P . I . *On Religion.*

Chap. II. *Of Outward Signs  
of Devotion.*

Chap. III. *Of Rites and Cere-  
monies in Divine Worship.*

Chap. IV. *Of Mysteries.*

Chap. V. *Of Free-will and Pre-  
destination.*

Chap. VI. *Of the Church.*

Chap. VII.

Chap. VII. *Of the Politicks of the Church.*

Chap. VIII. *Of Schism.*

Chap. IX. *Of Tolleration and Persecution.*

Chap. X. *Of the Reciprocal Behaviour between the Clergy and Laity.*

Chap. XI. *Of Government.*

Chap. XII. *Of National Happiness.*



**FREE**



# Free-Thoughts, &c.



## CHAP. I.

### Of RELIGION.



**R**ELIGION in General consists in an Acknowledgment of an Immortal Power, that, superior to all Earthly Dominion invisibly governs the World, and a respectful Endeavour to discharge such Duties, as every one shall apprehend to be requir'd of him by that Immortal Power. This Definition comprehends whatever *Mahometans* or  
B *Pagans;*

*Pagans*, as well as *Jews* or *Christians*, understand by the Word *Religion*. I shall only address my self to the last of these, and say nothing, at least in this Chapter, than what shall be short and plain, not less adapted to one part of the universal Church than to any other, and no more than what the meanest Christian ought to be acquainted with. In the whole, I shall study to promote, what we stand most in need of, Peace and Charity; and by the way take Notice of some Truths, which, tho' uncontested, yet few Divines, of any Sect or Perswasion, seem fond of informing us of.

OUR Religion requires of us Faith and good Works: That is, the Duties of a Christian are to believe the misterious as well as the historical Truths of the Gospel, and, by the Assistance of God's Spirit, to live up to the Rules of it. I know very well, that that strong Confidence, entire Trust, and Reliance, which a Christian ought to repose in the Certainty of the sacred Oracles, are not comprehended in the Idea, which the vulgar has, when they make use of the Word Faith or Belief. It is by many look'd upon as a Thing of Choice, as if Men could believe what they pleas'd, and several are perswaded, that they believe what, on better Examination

nation will be found, they believe not, and this only for want of knowing what it really is *to believe*.

He who believes, in the common Acceptation, that there is a God, and that the World is rul'd by Providence, but has no Faith in any thing reveal'd to us, is a Deist; and he, who believes neither the one or the other, is an Atheist. Of these I don't believe there are many, and I would have no Man so uncharitable as to think any Man guilty of Atheism, who does not openly profess it. Were we to judge of a Man's Belief, by strictly examining into his Actions, Faith would be scarcer than can be easily imagin'd.

WHOEVER allows of the Old and New Testament, how differently soever from others he may construe some Passages of either, so he but believes the whole to be the Word of God, ought to be call'd a Christian, even before he is baptiz'd. We have many People in a Year executed for enormous Crimes, yet they are all deem'd Christians, tho' but bad ones, who by their Education were once look'd upon as such, and profess not to disbelieve the Things I mention'd; and therefore none should be call'd Atheists, unless by Speaking or Writing they contradict or

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deny



deny them. Atheists are either Speculative or Practical; Speculative Atheists are those unhappy People, who, being too fond of Knowledge or Reasoning, are first deluded into Scepticism, till, unable to extricate themselves from the Mazes of Philosophy, they are at last betray'd into a Disbelief of every Thing they cannot comprehend, and become the most convincing Evidences of the shallowness of Human Understanding. The Number of these has always been very small; and, as they are commonly studious, peaceable Men, the Hurt they do to the Publick is inconsiderable. To make this not appear a Paradox, we are but to reflect on what it is Men are govern'd by in the Conduct of their Lives, and we shall find, that very few act from the Principles they profess, whilst all the rest are sway'd by their Passions and Inclinations; and therefore it ought not to appear more strange to us, that an Atheist should be a quiet moral Man, than that a Christian should lead a very wicked Life.

**PRACTICAL** Atheists are generally Libertines, who first have been guilty of all manner of Vice and Profaneness, and afterwards, not daring to reflect on the Enormity of their Sins, or the Punishment they deserve from the Vengeance of Heaven,

ven, lay hold on Atheistical Arguments, to skreen themselves from their own Fears, and only deny a God, because they wish there was none. Practical Atheists, as they commonly spend their Lives in Riots, and ridiculing every thing that is holy, generally dye (unless they happen to repent) in uncommon Agonies and Despair. These detestable Creatures, which no opulent Nation ever was free from, will stop at no Mischief, and are generally produced from sprightly Youth, too carelessly look'd after in a liberal Education, and it seldom happens, that any of the meaner ignorant People are tainted with this Impiety.

**T**H**E** Christian World abounds with Persons wicked and prophan; but of real Atheists there are fewer by much than is commonly imagin'd. The Multitude in all Countries of the World, let their Religion be what it will, are so generally and so powerfully influenc'd by Fear and Superstition, that no Atheism ever can affect the Bulk of the People. The Belief of Spirits, a Devil, Witchcraft, Fortune, or any Power above us, must always, if Men will reason at all, include the Belief of a first Cause, and supreme Being.

To those who were brought up *Jews*, *Mahometans* or *Pagans*, it may not be an easy Matter to lay down their Prejudice, and come over to our Religion; and it is possible, that they may make a thousand Scruples before they can heartily embrace it, whilst they are unassisted with the Divine Grace; but a Christian by Education finds no hard Task in believing every Thing contain'd in the Gospel, and what more has been taught him by Tradition from his Infancy. I would have it observ'd, that here the Word *Believing* is to be understood in the large Sense it is commonly receiv'd in; and then we shall find, that throughout the Nation the Christian Faith, according to the common Acceptation, is that part of our Religion, in which the Generality of the People are the least Defective, if we enquire of those, who attend the greatest Profligates in the last Moments of Life, even the Ordinary of Prisons, we shall hear but few Complaints as to this Point.

NOTHING is easier than *to believe*: Men may be sincere in their Faith, and even Zealous for the Religion they profess, and at the same time lead wicked Lives, and act quite contrary to their Belief. Those who cheerfully suffer Persecution for their Faith, ought not to be  
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suspected of Infincerity ; yet in all Ages there have been many Instances of People, who, for their Religion, left their Country, their Estates, Employments, Friends, and Relations, but could never bring themselves to renounce their Sensual Pleasures. *Jovian* the Emperor, who succeeded *Julian*, was a Christian : The Proofs he gave of his Zeal to the Gospel, before he ascended the Throne, are indisputable.

IN the first place, \* he shew'd himself very ready to renounce his Post rather than his Religion, when *Julian* commanded the Officers of his Troops to embrace Paganism, or resign their Employment. † In the second place, he would not accept of the Empire, till having declared, that he was a Christian, and that he would not command the Heathens, the Soldiers had likewise declared, that they were Christians, ‡ yet *Jovian* was a Glutton, and shamefully addicted to Wine and Women. Behold a stanch Christian, who on the one Hand was capable of preferring his Religion to the *Roman* Empire, and on

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\* Socrat. *lib.* 3. c. 22.

† Idem *ibid.*

‡ Ammian. Marcellin. *lib.* 25

the other immers'd in Sin and Voluptu-  
ousness.

THE greatest Difficulty of our Reli-  
gion is to live up to the Rules of Chri-  
stianity. To conquer our Passions, and  
mortify our darling Lufts, is, what few  
of us earnestly set about; and as to higher  
and heroick Virtues they are very scarce  
to be met with: Who loves his Enemies,  
or does good to them that hate him? How  
miserable are the common Notions of  
religious Duties among us! The Vulgar  
hardly know any heinous Sins, besides  
Murder, Theft and Adultery, and either  
Singing, Gaming, or Working on a Sun-  
day; and he, who is not guilty of any  
of them, and moreover abstains from  
Swearing, Drunkenness, and Fornicati-  
on, is counted Virtuous; and, if he fre-  
quents any publick Worship, shall be  
call'd a very sober Man and a good  
Christian; let him envy and back-bite  
his Neighbours, be proud, uncharita-  
ble, covetous, and revengeful, as much  
as he pleases, and not be possess'd of  
one Grain of real Religion; whereas  
every Body, that can but read and will  
examine the Scriptures, may, without any  
other Learning, or Spiritual Guide, be ful-  
ly convinc'd, not from one or ten Places  
in the Gospel, but the whole Aim, Drift  
and

and Meaning of it, that all the Rules of Morality, and other Duties incumbent on a Christian, are not to be performed for any wordly Consideration, or other Reason, but the Love of G O D and Holiness, and consequently, that to Judge from our Actions, we ought to enquire into the Motives that set us to work.

A young Lady shall justly be call'd Virtuous, whilst she expresses no Immodesty in her Discourse or Behaviour, and withstanding all the Temptations of Man, and the most powerful Inclinations from within, keeps her Honour and Reputation unspotted. But the same may be done by a Heathen; and, unless we disbelieve all History, old *Pagan Rome* has had more Women of try'd Honour, and exalted Virtue to boast of, than any Country, since the coming of C H R I S T. The Fear of Children, and the Scandal of being counted a Whore, often prove sufficient Guards to the most wicked and lascivious Women, and even such, as without those Dangers would have hardly stay'd till the Question was ask'd them.

T H O S E likewise of more refin'd Notions, the Women of Education, Rank and good Sense, even when by Marriage they are shelter'd from the Fears I mention'd

tion'd, may often obstinately defend their Honour without being Religious; when they consider, that it is the richest Jewel they are possess'd of, a Treasure, with which, in the Opinion of all Men whose Esteem is valuable, no Beauty, Wit or Fortune can come in Competition; and that those who are known to have lost it, are despis'd by all the World, and seldom regarded, even by those who have robb'd them of it.

**B**UT there is a vast Difference between not committing an Immorality from a Principle of Pride and Prudence, and the avoiding of Sin for the Love of **G O D**.

**W**HEN a Woman poysons her Husband, and at the same time refuses to prostitute herself, it will be difficult perhaps to dive into the Principle she is guided by; but it is very certain, that the Love of **G O D** is not the Motive of her Contenance; for had that any Power over her, she could not be guilty of so execrable a Fact.

**T**O detect the Frailties and evil Disposition of Man's Heart in general, never was counted to be censorious; and to give the least Handle for Persons to judge  
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uncharitably of one another, is what I detest the most. My Aim is to make Men penetrate into their own Consciences, and by searching without Flattery into the true Motives of their Actions, learn to know themselves.

A single Man we'll say, in the prime of his Youth and Strength, when Lust is most raging, wholly abstains from Fornication. Would he know the Motive of his Forbearance, let him examine himself; and, if he finds that he curbs his Inclination, and mortifies his Flesh to avoid Sin, and, because he is afraid of offending G O D, he may be satisfied that he acts from a good Principle: But if he avoids lewd Women, because they are Expensive, and himself is covetous, or if he is withheld by the Dread he has for some Diseases, or the loss of his Reputation, he has no Reason to flatter himself, that his Continence proceeds from any Religious Concern. This is not conquering the Passions, but bartering one for another, and perhaps two or three; for what he loses in the Pleasures, he might receive from Lust is repaid to him in Pride, worldly Interest, and the Insurance of his Health from that Quarter.



A covetous Man who is made a Sheriff, is obliged to be at greater Expences, at least that Year, than he has been used to, or else be laugh'd at or despis'd by every Body ; but this way of Living makes him not more Generous, or a better Man. He only sacrifices a little of his Avarice to a great deal of Pride.

THE worldly Interest of the whole Society often interferes with the eternal Welfare of every particular Member of it. We see daily Men rous'd from Sloth and Idleness, and spurr'd on to Emulation and useful Labour, by no better Principle than Envy ; and it is generally taken for granted, that Covetousness and Pride are the chief Promoters of Trade and Industry : But can it on the other Hand be denied, that these Vices, against which the Gospel so justly cautions us, contain the Seeds of almost all the Iniquities and Disorders that are committed ?

LYING, Slander, and Revenge, as long as they produce no visible Mischief to others, are generally look'd upon as Pccadillos, and Trespasses of little Moment ; and yet it is certain, that there is no Revelation nor solid Reason, that can inform us, that they are less heinous in the sight

G O D than Murder or Adultery.

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How often do we hear People own to us, in relating some of the Passages of Life, that they were forc'd to tell a Lye; yet nothing is more evident from Scripture, than that lying is a mortal Sin. How whimsical are our Notions! It is hardly denied but that every Body is guilty of Lying at one time or other, and yet to be upbraided with it, is counted so scandalous, that whoever bears it with Patience, is immediately by all the World condemn'd for a Coward, without any further Process.

SLANDER and Back-biting are made a Jest of: Among the fashionable part of Mankind this Vice is treated as a Piece of Gallantry to shew ones Wit, daily practis'd for the Entertainment of both Sexes. The Generality of the World looks upon it as an Amusement for idle People, so inoffensive, that Scandal and Tea with equal indifference are spoke of as inseparable Companions.

WHEN a Man threatens Revenge on those who have offended him, he is hardly blamed, if we are perswaded, that he has been highly injured. But how shocking would it be to hear him say, that he would venture eternal Damnation for the Pleasure of his Resentment? And where's  
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the Difference? The meaning of the last Expression is included in the first.

**T**HE great View of all Governments in the Administration of Justice, is to secure every one's Property and the publick Peace, and to prevent, that nothing is transacted against the Interest of the Nation or Country under their Care. For this reason, the various Punishments which Humane Laws inflict on different Crimes, are in most Cases proportioned to the Prejudices they are of to the Civil Society, or the visible Damage any of its Members did or might sustain by them. It is not the same with Offences done to Almighty GOD; the least of them, if we believe the Gospel, wilfully committed, makes us liable to eternal Damnation, if we do not repent of it before we dye.

**H**ow trifling, or at least how venial to humane Capacities would seem the Sin of *Adam*, should we only consider the Act itself, by which it was committed? Yet how great has been the Punishment, and how terrible the Consequences to himself and all his Posterity! Nothing could be more innocent than the eating of an Apple: There was no Prejudice in it to humane Society, or any of the Creation; and the whole Enormity of *Adam's* Crime

Crime was deriv'd from the bare Prohibition.

WHAT is a Sin therefore is such, not as a Mischief upon Earth, but an Affront to Heaven:

THE chief Duty then of real Religion among Christians consists in a Sacrifice of the Heart, and is a Task of Self-denial, with the utmost Severity against Nature to be perform'd on our selves.

THE use I would make of what has been said, is to put my Reader in Mind, that without this inward Sense of Religion no outward Worship, nor any Act of seeming Devotion or Charity, can be of the least Service to us, as to eternal Salvation. That, as the Doctrine of CHRIST plainly forbids Malice, Hatred and Revenge, and every where exhorts us to Meakness, Patience, Humility, Peace and Charity to all Men, so a Christian, who is really such, can never hate others upon any religious Account, tho' they were *Mahometans* or *Pagans*.

THAT, if we examine our selves, we shall find, that the Generality of us are not possess'd with any great Share of this inward Religion, and that, if we had more  
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of it; we should love one another better than we do.

FROM all which we may safely conclude, that Religion is not the Cause of the unhappy Breaches, that divide *Great Britain*; and that therefore all Divines of what Perswasion soever, who would insinuate the contrary to us, and perverting the Word of G. O. D. make a handle of it to breed Quarrels and Animosities, or any way disturb the publick Peace, are evil Teachers and Seducers of the People.



CHAP.



## C H A P. II.

### *Of Outward Signs of DEVOTION.*



**A**S most Men are worse than they would seem to be, so again they are better, than from their Actions, if we were acquainted with all, we would judge them to be ; for, tho' the Neglect of those Duties, which interfere with their Passions, be almost general, yet it proceeds not, as some imagine, from want of Faith, an Aversion to Religion, or an Unwillingness to be good ; but the unsurmountable Difficulty they meet with, in striving against Nature, and conquering their Inclinations, of which I have spoke in the foregoing Chapter. There are not many among us, who are not convicted that they daily do amiss and offend God, and who, when they have time to think and be serious, are not sorry

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**T**HERE is no Christian, some few profligate Wretches excepted, but what will own to you, and really believes, that he is indebted to **GOD**, not only for his Being, but likewise for every good Thing that happens to him, and all the Benefits he enjoys in this Life. Many, tho' otherwise wicked People, are really thankful for them in their Hearts, whenever they have leisure to reflect upon them; and moreover, are often looking out for commodious Ways of shewing their Gratitude; but as they can seldom find any that suit their Conveniency, they content themselves with hoping that they shall meet with them at one time or other.

**M**OST People believe sincerely, that they ought to obey **GOD**'s Commands, and have often an Apprehension, that they shall be punish'd for the Neglect of it. But then, if they are in Health, a future State is counted a great way off, and every Body hopes to repent before he dies: Besides the Assurance Men have from the Gospel, that **GOD** is as Merciful as he is Just, is not always made use of the right way. Another Proof, that Men generally are perswaded of the Truth of the Gospel, is, that the Duties and Severities of the Christian Religion seem so reasonable to them, that they would abominate any one  
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who should preach up loose Morals; and there is hardly a Drunkard, a Whoremaster, or any loose Jilt in Town, if ever they go to any Publick Worship, but what they would be ready to throw Stones at a Minister, who should tell them, that their Actions were commendable, and G O D approv'd of the Life they led. The worst of Sinners have their Fits of Devotion, and many of them will not only be very angry at a prophane Jest, or hearing any Thing ridicul'd they have a Religious Veneration for; but would likewise be desirous to make an Attonement to G O D for their Crimes at any rate, except parting with their darling Lust.

**C**H R I S T I A N S then are not bad for want of Faith, or wishing to be Good; but because they are not able to overcome their Appetites and curb their Passions, or rather have not Resolution enough to let about and persevere in the Attempt of it, whilst they are unassisted with the Divine Grace.

**W**H I L S T this Incapacity on the one Hand makes them look on their real Duty as an Impossibility, and their Faith on the other represents to them the Risk they run of eternal Damnation, they endeavour to find out some Equivalent, which may rid



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them of their Fears: Like lazy School-boys they'll do any thing to avoid the Rod, but their Task. This has been the Source of all the Bigotry and Superstition of *Rome*: Hence have been deriv'd all ridiculous Penances, Prayers for the Dead, Indulgences for the Living, Powers to release Souls from Purgatory, and whatever could be impos'd on Ignorance and Credulity, by the Craft and Avarice of a designing Clergy, who, in removing the Terrors of deluded Consciences for Money, have acted the Part of Knavish Ushers, when they take Bribes for conniving at the Neglects of the Schollars.

THESE of them who have been the most Artful, and dived the furthest into our Nature, have been always most remiss in promoting an inward Sense of Religion, and shewing us our real Duty, but left no Stone unturn'd to encrease our Faith, and encourage shews of outward Devotion. First, they made People believe, that all their Neglect, all their Sins and Offences proceeded only from want of Faith, whereas believing too much was one of their greatest Failings. After that all the Demonstration they required of their Faith consisted in Acts of outward Devotion, and they always proportioned the Severity of Discipline to the Capacity  
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and Humour of their Devotees. A precise Bigot shall be forc'd with fifty Lashes to expiate a Sin, which a wild Debauchee shall atone for with three *Paternosters*, or half a Dozen *Ave-maries*. The Jesuits are, of all Priests, the easiest Casuists; for which Reason the Confessors of Princes, and People of the highest Quality, who refuse to be teaz'd with troublesome Penances, are all Fathers of that Order.

By what has been said, I have endeavour'd to lay open the first Cause of the Disregard, the Generality of Christians have always had for the Amendment of the Heart, and of the mighty Strefs they have laid at the same time on Acts of outward Devotion, beyond what they deserv'd. My next Business shall be to demonstrate that this Perverseness of Judgment still continues among us, even those who pretend to be the greatest Enemies to Superstition, which to perform, I shall find sufficient Proof from one Act of outward Devotion I shall instance.

CHRISTIANS are commanded to meet and joyn together in divine Worship: Therefore going to Church is a necessary Duty; but it can make no Attonement for the Neglect of other Duties equally necessary, even when perform'd from a Prin-

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ceptle of Piety and Devotion, much less when comply'd with out of Custom, or when made Serviceable to a worse Intention. There are abundance of idle People of both Sexes, who are daily puzzled in contriving how to spend their Time: Of these some go constantly to Prayers both in the Fore and Afternoon. They do very well, no Body blames them for it, but why should they make a Merit of it, when they are Conscious, that were they not to go, it would be more troublesome, and they would not know what to do with that Hour?

THOSE who go to Church as they should do, go with an Intent to amend their Lives, and become more perfect in all Christian Virtues, otherwise the Action itself is indifferent, and all the Good to be done at Church depends on the Motive of coming thither, and the Use that is made of it. He who goes to Church every Day for Twenty Years together, and persists in a wicked Course of Life, or any one habitual Sin he is hardened in, is not a better Christian than the Man who never goes there at all.

GREAT Numbers of young People are constantly to be seen at Church, of both Sexes, whose chief End in going thither

thither is to display their Finery and indulge their Pride, and perhaps the Hopes of raising a more shameful Passion in others. To the Vainest and most Lascivious of these the Church is often the Place they take the greatest Delight in, because they can no where have a better Opportunity of setting themselves off, to each other, to the best Advantage, and Thousands of them go to see and be seen. Would you discover the Truth of this, have but Patience till by the Neglect of the Sempstress, the Manto-maker, or the Taylor, or some other Accident or Misfortune they are disappointed in any of their Accoutrements, and are obliged either to stay at Home or appear in a Dress by which their Vanity might suffer, or at least not be sufficiently flatter'd, and you shall find that rather than go to Church, they'll stay at Home for a Fortnight.

THE worst and most profligate of the Mob, and such as are wholly destitute of all Goodness and Morality, may likewise be drawn to Church by the unchristian Zeal and Licentiousness of Divines. These are the trusty Satellites that follow in Shoals, and surround the Firebrands of each Party. To hear others rail'd at, and their Betters revil'd, is the Height of their Pleasure, and therefore when Men

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are loaded with Curfes, and worried with Inveſtives by a Favourite Miniſter, and Damnations are with Clamours denounc'd from the Pulpit, why ſhould a Bull baiting, where Men are often expoſed to Danger themſelves, be more approv'd of than a Sermon, of which they are ſure all the Mithief will fall on their Adverſaries only, and not the Church, where they are ſheltered from the Weather, be prefer'd to a Bear-Garden, where they can but have the ſame Diverſion, and muſt ſtand in the Rain, or be choak'd with the Duſt ?

A Man need not be very Cenſorious, who will allow no great Merit in the going to Church of theſe Wretches; yet it is remarkable, that often, when they are transported with Joy at the Violence of Voice and Geſture, by which they are inſpired with a Mortal Hatred againſt thoſe of a different Opinion, many of them are ſo ſtupidly ignorant of their own Condition, as to imagine that they are diſcharging a Chriſtian Duty, whiſt they are wholly employ'd in gratifying the Malice and Rancour of their Hearts.

It would be endless to give all the Inſtances, by which one might prove, that moſt Men relying too much on Forms and Outward Devotion, place a Merit in Things

Things that have none. For this reason, I shall say nothing of keeping the Sabbath, Alms-giving, and other Duties, that might be referr'd to this Head; but in the Remainder of this Chapter, present the Reader with two or three Characters, which I believe will help to confirm what hitherto I have asserted. As to the Rites and Ceremonies of Outward Worship, too rigidly insisted on by some, and too peevishly rejected by others; they are one of the chief Causes of our Intestine Quarrels, and for that reason shall be spoke of by themselves at large hereafter.

*HORATIO* was Apprentice to a creditable Tradesman, and but Nineteen Years old, when he was married to a young beautiful Creature, with a tollerable Fortune, who was a Neighbour's Daughter fall'n in Love with him. He had always been a diligent Youth, and the best Servant his Master ever had; who pardoning this Fault, gave him up his Indentures, and *Horatio* was set up for himself before he was Twenty. He had not been married much above three Years, when his Wife died of a Consumption; having often Miscarried, but never had a Child born alive. In less than half a Year after *Horatio* took another, who was a hale Country Lass, just turn'd of Fifteen, and brought

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brought him a very good Portion. This had no Children before she was Three and Twenty, but since that they have had one almost every Year, and two or three times Twins. She is now with Child, and lay in about seven Months ago. He has a sincere Love for her, and she is a very prudent Woman. The Small-Pox has been very fatal to their Children, and of Twenty they had born alive, but Nine are left, Six Sons and Three Daughters. *Horatio*, who is now Fifty one, has always been an industrious thriving Man, and maintain'd his Family in Plenty. He has never been drunk, always kept orderly Hours; he is belov'd by his Neighbours, and has the Character of a very good humour'd Man. He is a strict Churchman, keeps all the Fasts in the Year, and never eats Meat on a *Friday*. All last *Lent* he abstain'd from Flesh and Wine, and kept the *Holy Week* with still a more extraordinary Rigour.

*HORATIO* never had receiv'd the least blemish in his Reputation, when, on *Easter Sunday*, whilst he was gone to Church with his Family, all in New Cloaths, the impertinent Curiosity of a Servant, that was left at home, made a discovery very much to his disadvantage. As *Horatio* was always very mindful, when he chang'd

chang'd his Cloaths to remember his Letter-Cafe, his Money, and whatever he had about him; so now in dressing himself, he had taken every thing out of the Coat and Breeches he pull'd off the Night before, and had, to the best of his thinking, very carefully examin'd every where; but, as ill-luck would have it, forgot to feel in, what he very seldom made use of, the left Pocket of the Waste-Coat; where he had put two Letters to keep them safe and not mix them with other Papers. In the one was a Bill from a Farmer in *Surrey*, who had the care of two Bastard Children of *Horatio's*, the other was a Scrawl of a Mistress, that was ready to lye in. These were found out by his Cook-Maid, as she was rummaging in his Bed-Chamber. The Maid had malice enough to shew them her Mistress; who, having read about a third part of one of them, and ask'd her, how she came by them, folded it up again; and, without looking in the other, put them both in the same Pocket they had been taken out. The next Day she turn'd away the Cook, but with abundance of good Humour; and, having paid what was due to her, made her a Present of Three Guineas, on a promise of Secrecy, which she earnestly required of her. The Wife has never since open'd her Lips, nor shew'd the least Chagrin



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grin about the Letter; but the Wench has broke her Word, and the thing is known, tho' not publickly.

NOT long ago a worthy Divine, who is a particular Friend of *Horatio's*, and has a great value for him, hinted it to him with all the Caution and good Manners imaginable. *Horatio* own'd all, and prevented the Reproofs he expected, by going on thus. The frailty of the Flesh is one, I have hitherto not been able to conquer; but never was guilty of taking unlawful Pleasures, but when my Wife was in Childbed, or otherwise out of order, and no Man has more Love or Friendship for a Woman, than I have for her. I have examin'd my self on this head, continued he, very severely, and am well assured, that if it be a Sin, it will be forgiven me; but on our Friendship let me hear no more of it.

*HORATIO* is a Man of Sense, and has been an impartial Arbitrator in fifty Disputes of other People; Is it not strange, that a strong Inclination should so violently over-power a Man's Reason, as at last, against his Will, to corrupt his Judgment? For, let *Horatio* have his Surety from what part soever he pleases, I am still more sure, he has it not from the Gospel; and that  
himself

*Of Outward Signs of Devotion.* 29

himself is a notorious Sinner, and has not one Christian Virtue to boast of.

IT is wrong always to judge of Man's Inclinations from the Sins he is guilty of. Princes may neither be Cruel nor Covetous in their Temper, even when they are the cause of War, of Rapine, and Devastation; their Ambition blinds them, or makes them overlook the steps, on which it mounts. Private Persons are betray'd into Wickedness after the same manner, and Men often commit Sins with reluctance, and consent with regret, to what their darling Vice forces them to submit.

EMILIA had a great share of Wit and Beauty, but Pride enough to outweigh both: She was every way well accomplish'd, and her Discretion hid the greatest part of her Frailty: She hated all Female acquaintance, and yet shew'd no fondness to Man: She was a pattern of Modesty, and remain'd Virtuous, till she was Five and Twenty; at which time, her Father, who was a Merchant, dying Insolvent, *Emilia* was left destitute to the wide World. Two Months after she grants the last Favour to a *Jew*, and gets Five Hundred Pounds by the Bargain. She soon discards him, admits another, and abates

bates of her Price. She had six Gallants in less than a Month; and in half a Years time, *Emilia* became a common Miss of the Town. As she was a well-bred Woman, that never drank to excess, and guilty of no other Crimes besides Prostitution, she had a very good Income, and no rakish Customers; being expensive in nothing but Cloaths and Furniture, she hoarded up Money. All the Women of her Profession hated her, and she them more inveterately. At Three and Thirty she had a fit of Sickness, which alter'd her much for the worse, upon which, finding her Trade to fall off, she left it, and retir'd with Five Thousand Pounds in her Pocket. She went a hundred Miles off, changed her Name, and was married to an old Knight, who had little or nothing, and spent her above half of what she had.

HER Husband has been dead these two Years, and *Emilia* is now turn'd of Fifty. She is grave in her Dress, and solemn in her Gate: She has left off House-keeping, lives within Compass, and with her Woman and Footboy, boards in a very sober Family. She appears very Devout, is never absent from Prayers, and has for some Years read nothing but Divinity; she delights in Controversy, and is well versed in Ecclesiastical History, and so  
good

good a Disputant, that all around her there is no Body able to cope with her. Since she left her first Employ, she has not been guilty of one Act of Incontinence; but as she commits no Fault her self that way, she is resolv'd not to connive at the least Shadow of it in others. She talks very well, and passes not a Day without telling Lies, either of her Birth and Family, or else the Virtues of her Youth. She never had a Child; and the Hatred to her Sex, especially those of Merit, continues. She is the most censorious Woman in the World; and, in the Seventeen Years she has been in the Country, she has broke off above Twenty Matches, that, in all Probability, would have been happy ones, and ruin'd above Fifty Reputations, that never deserv'd it; yet she is so Circumspect, as well as sly in her Insinuations, and manages her Slander with so much Dexterity, that she has never been openly detected.

EMILIA is fam'd both for Wisdom and Piety; the Parson of the Parish extolls her to the Skies, but is afraid of her in his Heart; every Body admires and stands in Awe of her, and no Woman in the County has more Respect paid her. Half a Year ago she made her Will, and left every Farthing she has to rebuild  
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the Front of a little Alms-House, that has a very little Income, and stands about a Mile off from where she lives. Over the Porch is to be her Effigy in Stone, with an Inscription of her own indicting underneath it. Since she has had this Design, she often Visits the poor Inhabitants, to whom she gives what Charity she can spare, and who, in return, take her to be a Saint, and trumpet her Praise all over the Country.

WHAT *Emilia* thinks of her self is worth any Man's Notice. Her Prostitution she is sure never proceeded from Lust, but Necessity, *ergo* no Sin. The Mischief she does with her Slander, she ascribes to the Aversion she has to Vice. When she reflects on the Hours she spends at Church, and in reading, and then thinks on the Will she has made, she flatters her self with having perform'd every Christian Duty, and her Conscience is entirely clear. Is it not strange, that *Emilia*, with all her Cunning, never suspected herself to be an ill Woman, and knows not to this Hour, that Envy and Vanity are her darling Vices?

HYPOCRISY every Body knows is a fair Outside, put on to hide Deformities within, designedly to cheat and circum-

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vent others : But when Men are as good, as unassisted with the Divine Grace, it is in their Power to be, and not bad in any thing, but what interferes with their leading Passion ; what must we say of them, when outwardly they appear upright, and yet their Hearts are very corrupt from that one Sin, which, in spite of all their Fears and Wishes, over-rules them ? For it is unjust to call People Hypocrites, when they set out with no ill design, and by their fair Appearance deceive themselves more ten to one, than they can do others of any tollerable Experience. What I say will be better illustrated by the following Example.

*C R A T O* is a rich Miser, who has no real Value for any thing but Money : He is humble in his Dress, and frugal in his Diet ; he rails at the Vices of the Age, and the Luxury of the Times. He thinks no Virtue more commendable than Industry, and is a Mortal Enemy to Beggars. Usury and Extortion he knows very well to be great Sins in a Christian, neither does he affirm, that he is not guilty of them sometimes, but he hopes *G O D* will forgive him, and wishes he could withdraw his Heart from this wicked World more than he does. He never drinks Wine, or any Thing that is strong; and

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no Hermit ever practis'd greater Austerity. If you talk to him of Religion, he lifts up his Eyes, and owns to you that he is a great Sinner: What is most wonderful, he does it with Sincerity, with Tears in his Eyes, and a bitter Sigh at almost every Word. In the mean time he is peevish to his Wife, ill-natur'd to his Children, a Sharper in his Dealings, a litigious Neighbour, and has never a Friend in the World. Cathedral Worship he calls Popery, and the Surplice is the Garment of the Whore of *Babylon*: He turns Pale at the Sound of an Organ, and no *Roman Catholick* can have more Superstition in keeping of Holy-days, than he discovers in affecting to neglect them.

He is a rigid Observer of the Sabbath, never fails of hearing two long Sermons every *Sunday*, and hardly eats any Thing before Supper. He never does himself, or suffers any of his Family to take the least, even the most harmless Recreation that Day. What time he has upon his Hands is spent in reading the Scripture, or some other Book of Devotion, or else sitting still without any other Exercise, but looking pitifully, and Yawning at first, and towards the Evening Nodding and Starting by turns without speaking a Word. After Supper he sings a Psalm, says his Prayers

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Prayers, and goes to Bed the most contented Man alive, and by his own Conceit often throws himself into an Enthusiasm of Joy, which the silly Wretch believes to be an infallible Token of Heavenly Favour, and misconstrues as a Reward to his Soul for the good Life he leads. This keeping of the Sabbath, he imagines atones for all; for though no Man is more afraid of Hell-fire than himself, and all the Week long he deceives and over-reaches as much as he can, without incurring any Penalty of the Law; yet he flatters himself, that the Outward Devotion of one Day in seven, and his Abstinence from every Thing his Avarice will not let him enjoy, will ballance all Accounts.

SOME time ago having pass'd the Sunday, as usually, came to him the next Morning a petty Tradesman for Ten Pounds, that had been due several Months; his Wife was ready to lye in, and he knew not where to get a Farthing any where else. *Crato* answers him very calmly, that he could never have come in a worse time; that he had not half that Sum in the House; that he should be forc'd to borrow Money himself that very Day, to pay in at the Bank, and that all the Directors were Rogues. The



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poor Man begs and prays, and tells him, that he never was in greater Necessity in his Life; but all in vain. *Crato*, who has no Compassion, but upon his own Cash, and knew the other valued his Custom, and would not dare to disoblige him, puts off his Dun for a Fortnight longer; and in less than two Hours after lets an extravagant Rake have Five hundred Pounds at Twenty per Cent.

He never was heard to swear an Oath, but has more than once hir'd Knights of the Post, and brib'd a Lawyer to ruin an Orphan. He is conscious of his Transgressions, but says they are Humane Fralties, and that no Man is free from Sin: After that he knowingly and willfully repeats the same over again, and so has done for near forty Years; without having ever endeavour'd, or so much as resolv'd to amend; yet *Crato* is generally counted a very Religious Man, and every Step his Avarice makes, is by many attributed to the Severity of his Morals.

CHAP.



CH A P. III.

*Of Rites and Ceremonies in* DIVINE  
W O R S H I P.



**T**HAT the Difficulty there is in conquering our Passions, is the greatest Obstacle to Christian Virtue, has been sufficiently proved in the two foregoing Chapters. Another Reason, why the Generality of us are so little affected with Inward Religion, is, that the Vulgar, and all People of mean Capacities, can find nothing in it that suits them. It is wholly Spiritual, and there is nothing strikes the Senses. In the time of our Saviour and his Disciples the Wonders that were daily wrought to the Astonishment of all who beheld them, were suf-

ficient to awaken the Attention of Carelessness and Stupidity itself; but when Miracles were ceased, the Influences of the holy Spirit, which had been so openly manifested in the Actions as well as Doctrine of the Apostles, and render'd the Divinity of their Mission almost indisputable, were never after so eminently visible in their Successors; which was the Reason that the Charms of the Gospel did not work so irresistably on the Minds of the Sensual, the Illiterate, and Men of gross Understanding, as they had done before; and the fervent Zeal of Profelites began to cool in many after the first Century.

**T**H E Christians before *Constantine the Great*, throughout the Empire were every where surrounded with the gawdy Shew and pompous Ceremonies of triumphant Paganism. The Wealth and Skill laid out in their Idols and Temples; the Mirth and Luxury of their Feasts; the Solemnity of their Sacrifice, and Stateliness of their Processions, were very attractive to vulgar Eyes. If to these we add the rich and spotless Garments, as well as venerable Aspect of their Priests, their Subordination and Variety, and the Awfulness of their Office, we shall conclude, that the Pagan Idolatry must have had a great Influence  
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over the weak Minds of poor and ignorant People, when they saw it submitted to by Princes and Emperors themselves.

THE Heathen Priests at first despised and ridicul'd the Christian Religion, and for some time after contented themselves with crushing it by the Secular Power; but when they found that in spite of all Persecutions, it still got more Ground, and began to be embraced by many Senators, and People of great Quality, they thought their Temples in danger; and had recourse to Reasonings and Remonstrances; but not being able to maintain their own Theology, they drew in Philosophers and Orators to defend it, as their Country's Cause.

THUS Christianity came to be attack'd in form, its Doctrine censur'd, and the whole oppos'd by Popular Arguments, which afterward the *Roman* Catholicks have made use of in the Disputes with the Protestants, and have not been forgot by the Church of *England* against Dissenters, and have still receiv'd the same Answer from the Adversaries of the National Church, which some of the Primitive Christians made to them at first.

As many learned Men had embraced Christianity, and their Cause was far the better, the Pagans were generally defeated by them; yet their Clashings together were of a long Continuance. And it is likely, that whilst the Pagan Priests left no Stone unturn'd to maintain their own, the Government being likewise on their side, the pious Churchmen of those Times, who were not willing, that the spreading of the Name of CHRIST should be retarded by any Neglect of theirs, were of Opinion, that Faith and Piety might be assisted by outward Objects of Devotion, and therefore introduced several comely Ceremonies and Decorations into their Worship; which they had no Precept for from the Gospel, thinking themselves oblig'd, in behalf of the Vulgar, to join some outward Shew to their good Reasoning; as the Heathens, who had always trusted to the Pomp and Splendour of their Religion, and never been us'd to speak in Defence of their Theology, now condescended to enter into Debate with them, and join Reasoning to their outward Shew.

ON this mean Foundation of some few inoffensive Rites and Ornaments the Pride and Avarice of the succeeding Clergy, as they encreased in Power, and Emperors became

became Christians, have built all the Luxurious Machineries of the Roman Catholic Superstition. How soon Christians began to deviate from the Primitive Simplicity of their Worship is not easily determin'd; but we have reason to think, that it was very early; because it is evident from *Prudentius*, that they had already Images in some of their Churches in the beginning of the Fourth Century, or before.

*WHATSOEVER has an outward appearance of Piety,* says a learned Man, *and may be observed without having any Virtue in the Soul was always easily entertained among ignorant Nations, who on the contrary did always neglect whatever requires some Virtue to be practis'd.* This Truth has been always profoundly understood by the Priests of most Countries, and the use to be made of it to their benefit, been so eminently improved among the Christians, that their Clergy in the City of Rome, has in Lux, and Religious Pageantry, at least equalled their Heathen Predecessors, but far exceeded them in their Arrogant (not to call them worse) pretensions to Holiness, Power, and Authority.

LONG in the most haughty manner had the Roman Clergy, the Empire of the East being destroy'd, maintain'd an Absolute sway

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sway over the Consciences of Sovereigns, as well as Subjects in all the Christian World, till their own flagrant Vices and the Contentions among themselves were the occasion, that many of the better sort of them protested against the Tyranny of *Rome*, and at last, by the help of Secular Powers, brought to pass what we call the Reformation, by which several Kingdoms, of which *England* was the chief, and other States and Principalities in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and the *Low Countries* withdrew themselves from the Usurpation of the *Roman* High Priests.

THE great Design then in hand, or at least the chief pretence was to remove all Objects of Idolatry from Churches, and other publick Places, to abolish all Superstitious Ceremonies, and other Abuses that were crept into the Church. This was executed in every Country with more or less rigour, according to the Heat or Moderation of the Guides, and Leaders they followed.

I shall take no notice of what was done Abroad, or of our own Relapse in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, but desire every body to take a view of what lies before him, and impartially to consider the Rites and Ceremonies in general, that cannot be

be proved to be of Apostolick Institution, and which yet the *English* Divines, together with the Government, have retain'd, or alter'd into such, as are made use of in our Church, as by Law establish'd.

I beg the Reader's Pardon for leading him so far about; but I could not better, to my Mind, set in a true light the innocent Original, prodigious Increase, and reasonable curtailing of Ceremonies, and the changing them into those we have now, than the way I have done it in. And as my great aim is National Concord, and the publick Tranquility, the use I would make of such a View is this,

I would on one hand shew the Dissenters, that the motive of inventing some Rites and Ceremonies may be Pious and laudable; and that the end of the Reformation was not to destroy useful Order and Decency, but Idolatry and Superstition, and whatever by a Covetous and Ambitious Clergy had been calculated to exhaust and enslave the Laity. From hence I would take an opportunity of observing to them, that no Rites or Ceremonies insisted on by the Church of *England* could be excepted against on those Heads. And should they ask me why other Protestant Countries made not use of the same, I would



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would answer what I have partly hinted at already, that the Zeal and Violence, with which the Roman Catholick Religion was proceeded against in all Countries, that are now Protestant, chiefly depended on the Temper and Insinuations of the first Reformers they hearken'd to; and that it is evident that several of them, tho' otherwise Men of Learning and great Qualifications, were too much led away by human Passion, and that many of their Actions had not so much discover'd the Influence of the Holy Ghost, as that of a restless and vindictive Spirit.

I would tell them likewise, that at the time of the Reformation, the known Method, commonly used to make a crooked Stick strait, had been over strain'd, and practis'd with too general an application: And that in those Days the Zeal of Protestants had been so blind, as in many cases to take away not only their Charity, but likewise their Understanding. To prove which, and not spend too much time in running through particulars, it will be sufficient to take into Consideration only one instance of the Anti-Zeal, and Extravagance of the Reformers.

CHRIST died on a Cross; with this, Jews and Infidels, in the first Ages, have  
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often upbraided his Followers; who on the contrary glory'd in it, and no good Christian ever yet was ashamed to own the Ignominious Death of his Lord and Master. In tract of Time the Cross became the Banner and Ensign of Christianity. Of this Veneration, which was justly given to the Sign of the Cross, in Remembrance of our Saviour's Sufferings, designing Priests made an ill use. By virtue of it, they pretended to cure Diseases, exorcise, and perform several other Miracles. This soon made that every Thing had the Sign of the Cross upon it, or was made in that shape; and few Things were wore, or made use of, that had not the Figure of it express'd, either in Painting, Sculpture, or Embroidery. Several Ecclesiasticks pretended to have Parts of the real Cross which our Saviour suffer'd upon, and sold in small and bigger Pieces more of it, than what would fill half a dozen First Rate Men of War. They openly paid Adoration to it, where-ever they saw it, and made others do the same. In short, they made it the chief Engine of Idolatry, and Superstition, in all their Trade.

THIS was a sad and wicked Abuse, of a Thing, otherwise indifferent; But was this a Just Cause of the horror and detestation

restation some of the Reformers inspired their Followers with against the Sign of the Cross; this was another extreme: Amongst the Protestants, either in *Switzerland*, or the Seven Provinces, there is not a Cross, nor a Crucifix to be found in any Family; and wherever you see the Picture of either, you will not err once in Fifty times, if you pronounce the People to be Papists. Is not this Folly? But was it not much more madness in the first Reformers to break and destroy every thing that had a Cross or Crucifix upon it, or was made in resemblance of it? Would it not be an odd way of paying respect to the Memory of a Prince, if we should demolish his Statue, or cut his Picture in pieces wherever we met with any?

I cannot leave off yet. Does their aversion proceed from the Reflection on the use the Papists put it to; Why can't they as well consider, that this was one of the Reasons why they parted from their Communion; and that now they have left them they have no more to do with them as to Divine Worship, than they have with the Jews, or the Pagans? What is this to the Cross? No body bids them to make it an object of Idolatry, neither do I bid them make any Crosses, or the resemblances of it. People may hate Onions,  
and

and not be able to give a reason for it; but I should think him a Mad-man, who should have a real aversion to them, upon the account of the *Egyptians* of Old, who paid Idolatrous Worship to them. A Man of any Family, that has a Coat of Arms to boast of, has it painted on his Coach in many places, and can't have a Silver Spoon but what bears the Crest of it; And shall a Christian hate the resemblance of a Christ Crucify'd, and either tremble at the sight of, or else spurn from him what is the Emblem of his Redemption?

THE same Reflection, I would have made on the greatest part of the Liturgy, and the Common-Prayer. I would have them consider, that in all great Enmities, each Party, for fear of bordering too near the same Centre, precipitates it self to the opposite extreme, and very often with little Judgment. The Papists had innumerable Ceremonies, many of them really offensive and sinful, therefore the excessive Zeal of most Protestants made them imagine, that there could be no thorough Reformation, if they retain'd any thing their Adversaries did or said, how harmless and becoming soever. This may be observ'd in the very dawn of Christianity; and it has been the Opinion of some Learned Men, that the altering of the Christian Sabbath,

Sabbath, and shifting it from *Saturday* to *Sunday*, was more owing to an Antipathy against the Jews, and a fondness of differing from them in as many things as it was possible, than the pretended reason that is given for that bold Change.

AFTER this, I would shew our Dissenters, that they were more rigid Antipapists than any Calvinists abroad; for that the Protestants in *Holland, &c.* tho' they have thrown by the Mass-Book, and the Prayers of the Church of *Rome*, shew'd no aversion to set Forms of Prayers; that in the Seven Provinces they had Forms of them adapted to the Ceremonies both of Baptism and Marriage; and that the Ministers of the National Church, not only made use of a certain Form of Prayer, compos'd by Order of the Government, before their Sermons, but were likewise obliged to conclude all their Prayers, their own Extemporary ones not excepted, with that of our Lord.

NEITHER would I forget to tell them, that all Protestants beyond the Seas, allow'd of Godfathers and Godmothers, witness King *William*, who had the States *General* and others † for his Godfathers: Nor, that

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† The others were the States of *Holland*, those of *Zealand*, together with the *Magistrates* of *Delft*, *Haerlem*, and *Amsterdam*, *Aytzema*, *Herfelde* *Leeuw*.

that they made use of Instrumental Musick in Divine Worship; that throughout the Provinces, they had Organs wherever they could afford them, and those in the New Church at *Amsterdam*, by good Judges, were counted the best in the World.

WHAT I have said, (which I am sorry I could not do in fewer words) I would have the Dissenters seriously to consider, and pick out of it an Answer themselves.

BUT now I beg leave to ask a Rich Presbyterian in my turn, Why there are as much gaudiness and superfluity in Dress to be seen at their Meeting-Houses, as in any of our Churches? If he pleads the Modes in being, and the Fashion of the Country for himself, Why does he affect singularity in the Habit of his Teachers? If the Laity of a Nation differ from each other in Opinion, and yet wear the same Cloaths, and consult nothing in their Dress but the Modes in being; Why should the Dissenting Clergy stand out, and in their Habits not all follow the Fashion of the same Country?

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BUT should he refuse to admit of any difference in Dress, between the Clergy and the Laity; then, Why must their Ministers wear Black, and not as well Sky colour or Scarlet? To answer this, he'll fly to Decency; and must at last be oblig'd to appeal to the Custom of the Country, which at the same time he refuses to comply with.

I would ask him moreover, why, if he affected the Primitive Simplicity of Christians, he ridicul'd the Quakers; who in their Worship as to outward appearance, keep up to a greater resemblance of the Apostolick Times, than any other Sect of Christians. Tho' many of these likewise, I am afraid, mistake Affectation for a Christian Virtue; and being part of our Dissenters, I have something to say to them in particular as to Ceremonies.

I would first entreat them not to think better of themselves than they do of other People, before they had well examin'd whether they deserv'd it; and put them in mind that to be purer in outward Worship would avail but little, unless the Heart was less corrupt. After that I would tell them, that the Plainness and seeming Humility, in which they differ'd from  
others,

others, was the easiest thing in the World; when acquired by Education, and made habitual by Custom. That the House-keeping of a Quaker was generally as expensive as that of a Churchman, of the same Fortune; that many of them Eat and Drank, and wore the best of every Thing, were curious in their Furniture; magnificent in their Buildings, and extravagant in their Entertainments, and every thing about them.

I could go further, and affirm to them, that a Quaker might have a greater regard upon his Words and Actions, and yet as to himself, not be a better Man than a Person of looser Morals; that, when a Man strenuously asserts a thing, his honour engages him to stick to it, and that the more Pride he has, the less he'll recede from the Principle he pretends to be of; for that was a vain Man, to brag of being less chilly than others, he would keep from the Fire as long as he could, whilst he thought himself observ'd.

I would tell them likewise, that many of them gave not themselves that trouble, or else were very inconsistent with themselves; for that a Man, who refuses to pay respect to the Civil Magistrate, ought not to require, much less exact it, from



his Coachman, and every Servant he keeps; I would ask a Man of Sense and Probity, as a great many of them are, How he could pretend to renounce the Pomp and Vanity of the World beyond others, and have nothing else to shew for it, but keeping on his Hat, and the scantiness of his Coat; for that these two, and using the Singular Number instead of the Plural, in their address to others, are all the Characteristicks many of them are to be known by is undeniable. I would conclude with this Question; How he could imagine that the voluptuous enjoyment of Ease and Luxury could be atton'd for by the pitiful Sacrifice of a Yard of Cloth, and perhaps half a Score of Buttons in every Suit he wears; whilst his Wife and Daughters put in above Three times the quantity of Silk, of what Twenty Years ago, the same Garment would have been thought to require.

**T**HIS is the use I would make of what I have said on Ceremonies, in relation to Dissenters, and would speak with the same Plainness to those of our National Church.

I would urge to them, that all Ceremonies in use among Christians, even the most decent and the least liable to Censure,

sure, must be own'd to be of Human Invention, and that we had none we could with any certainty call Apostolical; That as our Church pretends to no Intallibility, we ought not to be too dogmatical and positive, in defending every part of the Rites and Ceremonies of it. That in my Remonstrance to Dissenters, I had been favourable to our Church; but else, that we had several Ceremonies and Usages not **not** to be insisted on: Nay, that we had retain'd what the Church of *Rome* itself had borrow'd from Paganism; to justify this, as Cardinal *Baronius* does; who having confess'd the Feast of *Candlemas* to be entirely Pagan in its Original, adds; *the like has often happen'd, several other Gentile Superstitions being laudably introduced into the Church, and expiated and sanctified by the Christian usage.* To justify this, I say, in the manner aforesaid, I would advise no Protestant, nor as others have done, by saying, That adopting the Usages of Paganism, is employing the Spoils of *Ægypt* to adorn the Jewish Tabernacle; that it is following the Example of *Solomon*, who borrow'd the Materials and Builders of the Temple of the true GOD from an Idolatrous King: That *David* scrupled not to set the Crown of Gold on his own Head, which he tore from that of the Idol *Melchom*.

SUCH Justifications I would desire them not to lay great stress upon, and tell them further, that standing to the East at the Confession of our Faith, and bowing to the Altar might be omitted without any great loss: That bowing at the Name of JESUS, and not at that of CHRIST, is a Childish Interpretation of the Text it is deriv'd from; and that those Sticklers to the Letter, who insist upon the Performance of that Rite, might without any great Cunning perceive, if they would, that it is only comply'd with in strictness by the Women. That the stated Fees, which besides their Tithes and ordinary Income our Clergy can demand for Marrying, Baptizing, Burying, *Easter Offerings, &c.* bore an Air of Popery to those, who are not accustomed to Usages of our Church, and that even to good Men, they might easily be mistaken for Relicks of Priestcraft.

I would inform them, that many Things might in themselves not be really Superstitious, and yet Men be guilty of Superstition in the use of them, by laying too great a Stress, and paying a more sacred Veneration to them than they deserve. When he should own to me his Weakness, that nothing could raise his Devotion equally to good Musick, I would  
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commend him for preferring Cathedral Worship to any other ; but I would not justify his Anger against his Neighbour, because he is disturb'd at the sight of a Choirister, whom he knows to be a lewd Companion, that lets out his Voice for every Purpose it can be hired for ; sings Anthems one Hour, and Obscenities the next, and in the same Afternoon serves the Church of G O D, and the Play-house.

I would allow, that the loose becoming Garment of white Linnen the Priest is clad with at Divine Service, may, as an Emblem of Innocence and Purity, be of use to put the wearer in Mind of what he should be, and as such be edifying to the People ; nay, I would grant, that the Sight of the Surplice ought to have no other effect on a candid Beholder : But I would have no Body judge uncharitably of a Man who should deny, that the Dresses of the Dean and Chapter, the Diversity of Hoods, Caps and Cawls, with all the Variety of Vestments at some Solemnities to be seen at a Cathedral, either all together, or part of them, had any Thing in them more holy or more necessary than the Gowns of the Judges, the Sword-bearer's Cap of Maintenance, or the Habits of the Yeomen of the Guards,

and consequently should look upon them no otherwise than Men used to do upon all odd Fashions retain'd from old Custom.

I would desire him to examine himself and the force of Education, and put him in mind of the Proverb of the new Vessel which will long retain the Smell it was once imbued with. That it was not yesterday the People they quarrell'd with began to dissent from us; that as our Animosities were the Fruits of the Disputes and Contentions of our Forefathers, the Dissenters had from their Infancy been inspired with Horror against many Things which in reality are indifferent, and which we from the same Cause have been taught as early to over-value; and that if we found it difficult to conquer the Prejudice of Education, we ought not to propose as an easy Task to others.

Thus I would speak to those of our own Church, and conclude with this Admonition: If the Dissenters are deluded let us shew that we are the wisest. In the continuance of their Separation obstinate in them, let us avoid the same Imputation by not urging the Dispute any further. If to err belongs to humane Frailty, let us bear with their Errors, and for the future

future resolve to treat them with Humanity; and begin with three Things that ought to be easy to a Christian: Let us forbear calling Names, ascribing Sentiments to them, which they utterly disown, and laying to the Charge of any of them, what they have not been personally guilty of themselves.

**T**HE more one really considers the Difference between a Churchman and a Presbyterian, the more easy it seems to heal the Sore, if those who are intrusted with the Cure, would throw by their Corrosives, and but cease to keep open the Wounds with so much Industry and Application. Let me illustrate this with an Example.

A Churchman receives the Sacrament kneeling, a Presbyterian sitting. Let us suppose, that out of Curiosity they would see the manner, after which it is administered in each others Communion. There is no doubt, but such a Sight would be very shocking to both. Now, (says the Churchman) I see that these Wretches are not only Slovenly and Disrespectful in their Worship, but likewise place a Religion in affronting **G O D** and prophaning every Thing that is holy, or else how could they chuse the most irreverend and scan-

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scandalously familiar Posture that can be invented, to take the Lord's Supper in. This is his Construction.

**T**HE Presbyterian seeing every Body upon their Knees, cries out, Idolatry! These People, says he, believe in Transubstantiation, or else they would never worship the Creature: This is Popery all over; and I am sure they adore the Bread as much as the Papists do the Wafer. At this rate they must never be reconcil'd; but how strangely it would alter the Case, if each of them would calmly hearken to what the other had to say in his Justification!

**T**HE Presbyterian would say, that the Gospel was the Standard of his Worship, and that he could not find that **C**H R I'S T or his Disciples, at the first Institution of the Lord's Supper, made use of any than the usual Posture at Meals; that in Imitation of this, as far as was consistent with good Sense, he took the Sacrament sitting, because that is the Posture used at Meals of the Country, and the Time he lives in, as much as among other Nations, it was formerly the Custom to eat and drink half lying down, and half leaning on Couches. This is a very good Plea for sitting down; but the Reason the Churchman would give

give for kneeling, is as weighty to the full.

I do not believe (would he say) the real Presence more than your self; but look upon the partaking of the Lord's Supper, to be, of all the Christian Rites, the most sacred, it fills me at once with Thoughts of my own Unworthiness, and an awful Reverence for the Holiness of **G O D**, and therefore I receive it in the most humble Posture I am able. What barbarous Notions must a Man have of the Deity, who could imagine, that, if both spoke sincerely, and otherwise took the Sacrament Conscientiously, tho' in different Postures, **G O D** would be offended at either!

To destroy all Hatreds and Animosities, especially such as are chiefly built on Prejudices, and are daily kept up by the ill Offices of others, the first Step is with Patience to consider what our Adversaries may have to say for themselves: The next is to examine our own Conduct, with the same Severity as we do theirs.

This will enlarge the Mind, make Men give Allowances to each other for Education and Custom, and help to cure them of the Bigottry to their own Opinion.

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It would teach Dissenters to distinguish between Things indifferent, and those that are clashing with the Gospel, and make them know, that many Things of humane Invention may have their Politick use, and be beneficial to Society, without interfering with Religion.

A Presbyterian that can rejoyce, and treat his Friends on the Anniversaries of Princes, whom he thinks to have been more eminently serviceable to his Country, can keep Queen *Elizabeth's* and King *William's* Birth-days with Pleasure, would be no longer angry with his Neighbour for not forgetting the Nativity of his Saviour.

THE strict Quaker would no longer shock the sight of silly People, by opening his Shop in the most ostentatious manner, when all his Neighbours shut theirs the closest, but by examining the Motives of his Heart, learn to distinguish between the Spirit of G O D, and that of Contradiction.

THE rigid Churchman, by comparing his own Stock of inward Virtue, to the vast Concern he shews to the Sinfulness of Schism in others, would learn to enter into the real Cause of his Uneasiness, shake  
Hands

Hands with Persecution, and no longer mistake Self-interest for Charity, and Party Zeal for Religion.

I shall end this Chapter with putting both Churchmen and Dissenters in Mind, that to make Religious Scruples, and be anxiously solicitous concerning Things indifferent, is Superstition; and to have another Principle at Heart than what Men pretend to act from, is Hypocrisy; that the Crime of either may not be imagin'd to be the Characteristick of one Party more than another.





## CHAP. IV.

### Of MYSTERIES.



**T**O be a Christian, I have said in the beginning of the first Chapter, that it was necessary Men should believe the mysterious as well as historical Truths of the Gospel, were all strictly to be examin'd by this Rule, and be oblig'd to explain every part of Holy Writ our own way, every Communion would deny the Name of Christian to all others that should refuse exactly to subscribe to their Creeds; for should we reject those, who differ from us in the Doctrine of one Mystery, the *Roman* Catholicks would imagine, that they might with greater Right exclude us from flatly denying another Mystery, which they adore. For this Reason I said lower, that whoever allow'd of the Old and New Testament, how differently soever from others, he might

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construe some Passages of either, so he but believ'd the whole to be the Word of **G O D**, ought to be call'd a Christian.

**B O T H** Protestants and *Roman* Catholics perfectly agree in this Point, that Mysteries transcend Reason, and there are some Divines, who acknowledge \* the Mysteries denied by the Socinians to be against Reason: But whether any Thing contradictory can be the Object of our Faith, will best appear from a View of the Difference there is between Knowledge and Belief.

**W H A T** has been convey'd by our own Senses to our Understandings, we are said to know: The same may be said of every Thing, which, after due Examination, our Reason plainly demonstrates to our Judgment to be true or false. So when I hear a Man speak, and see him stand before me, I know that he is there. And again, if I can reason at all, and exist myself, I may be assur'd from within, that there is a first Cause, and consequently I can prove to my self, that there is a **G O D**.

**T H I S**

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\* *Nicolle perpetuë de la foix, pag. 118, 119. Edit. 1666.*

THIS then is call'd Knowledge, but; when we admit any Thing to be true or false, and our Judgment is perswaded that it is the one rather than the other, on an Authority from without, the Action is call'd believing: Of this there are many degrees, and the Confidence we believe with is either strong or slight, according to the good or indifferent Opinion we entertain of the Authority, which was the first Motive of our Belief. Experience teaches us; that this Opinion is much influenc'd by the Fears, Wishes, Inclinations, and varies according to the Capacity of the Believer: The Ignorant may have a great Opinion of an Authority, which a wise Man shall altogether despise: And on the other side the one may find out Reasons to believe, which the other cannot penetrate into. It is to be observ'd, that when Men believe, as often they do, on bare Suspicion, Guesses and slight Surmises of their own in these Cases, the Circumstances their Conjectures are built upon, are all the Authority from without which they have for their Belief.

WHAT I have said may seem too Philosophical to those who are not used to abstract Thinking; but every Body who is but in the least capable of observing what passes within his own Mind, must know  
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the difference there is between knowing and believing, and perceive that the first implies a Certainty, superiour to any Assurance ever receiv'd from the latter, because, for the first we rely on our own Testimony, and for the latter we must trust to the Testimony of others. It is very true, that our Senses sometimes deceive us, that our Reasons are false, and our Judgment errs. This I confess is a mortifying Reflection; but still the greatest Certainty we can receive must come from them; for when once we begin to doubt of our Reason, and our Senses, we are longer sure of nothing, an immediate Revelation from G O D not excepted; for how shall we trust to a Revelation, when we cannot depend either on the Senses by which we receive it, nor our Reason, the only Touch-stone, by which we can assure our selves of its being Divine?

I N the Idea we can form of the Supreme Being, the first Attributes, we are convinc'd of, are his Power and Wisdom, though in a degree of Perfection vastly beyond our Capacity to conceive; and if we continue in that Contemplation, we shall find, that the Unity of a G O D must be equally necessary with his Existence: But as soon as we admit of reveal'd Religion, and the Gospel, we meet with  
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something that surpasses, if not shocks our Understanding, which is the Divinity of **JESUS CHRIST**, and that of the **HOLY GHOST**. Men may cavil and wrest Words to their own Purpose as long as they list; but whoever has read the New Testament with Attention, and denies that he has found any such meaning hinted at there, must be either very blind or very obstinate.

**WHAT** must we do in this Dilemma? Shall we reject part of the Gospel, or say, that there are three Gods, and so speak not only against the clearest Ideas we have of the Deity, but likewise the plainest Doctrine of the same Gospel, as well as of the Old Testament? Not to be guilty of either, we ought to treat this Point with the utmost Diffidence of our own Capacity, and fix our Eyes on the eternal Veracity, as well as the unsearchable Wisdom of **GOD**; and when once we have assured our selves that he cannot have the Will either to deceive us or contradict himself, we shall look upon the whole as a mysterious Truth, which **GOD** has not been pleased to reveal to us in a more intelligible manner.

**THE** more we endeavour to explain this Mystery, the more intricate we shall find

find it, and it will less startle and fright Reason, when propounded in a few Words according to the Simplicity of the Scripture, than it does by that great Train of Explications, that accompany it in *Thomas Aquina's* Commentators. People may wrangle and quarrel about this Article to the Worlds end; but it is impossible Men should ever entertain the same Sentiments of a Matter, which is unintelligible in its Nature, and it is to be admired how so many Men of Sense, and good Logicians, as this Point has been controverted by for so many Ages, could ever imagine that any thing could be a fit Subject for Disputation, which no Language can give them the least Idea of. If GOD has so far enlighten'd any ones Understanding, that he can comprehend more of this Mystery than another, let him pay his Acknowledgment with Gratitude and Humility, but not haughtily dictate to the Conscience of his Neighbour, who confesses that he has not receiv'd so great a Measure of the Divine Grace.

OTHERS may interpret for us as they please, and impose upon us what Forms they think fit: Every Man may be convinc'd within himself, that Believing is not a Thing of Choice. Our Church pretends to no Infallibility, which implies



a liberty, in every Member of it, of re-examining whatever has been said or done before him. No Man therefore ought to be too dogmatical in Matters of Faith: What to my Understanding is difficult and obscure, cannot be made otherwise to me by another's saying, that it is clear and easy to him; and let us hear what we can, every one at last must judge for himself to the best of his Ability. *There are innumerable Places (says the learned and pious Bishop Taylour, \* speaking of the Holy Scripture) that contain, no doubt, great Mysteries, but so wrapt in Clouds, and hid in Umbrages; so heighten'd with Expressions, or so cover'd with Allegories and Garments of Rhetorick, so profound in the Matter, or so alter'd and made intricate in the manner, that they may seem to have been left as Tryals of our Industry, and as Occasions and Opportunities for the Exercise of mutual Charity and Tolleration, rather than as the Repositories of Faith, and Furniture of Creeds.*

THE DOCTRINE of the Trinity, was not establish'd before the famous Council of Nice, which every Body knows was occasion'd by the Disputes of *Arius* and *Alexander*,  
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\* In his Treatise on the liberty of Propheying, printed in his Collection of Politigal and Moral Discourses.

the one a Bishop, and the other a Priest of *Alexandria*. The Fathers of the three first Centuries had very imperfect Notions concerning this Mystery, and they very much differ'd in their Opinions, when they began to treat of it, as appears from their various Terms, of which several were unintelligible, and the confused Expressions they made use of. It is evident, that *Constantine the Great*, how well soever he had been instructed in his new Religion, was very little acquainted with the Point in Question before the meeting of that Assembly, as is so visible from the long Letter he wrote to the Contending Parties above-mentioned, in which he equally hides them.

FOR though each Side treated the other with the odious Name of Heretick, and endeavour'd to shew, that the Sentiments of the opposite Party overthrew the Christian Religion, yet the Emperor had no such Apprehensions. He found (he said) that the Controversy had begun in his manner, \* That Alexander having demanded of each of his Priests, what they thought of a Passage, or rather on an idle

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sort

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\* Euseb. in Vita Constant. c. 64. Socrat. l. 1. c. 7.

sort of Question, Arius inconsiderately answered what he should not have thought, or rather conceal'd, if he had thought it; that from thence had come his Excommunication, and the Division of the People, and therefore he exhorted them to a mutual Pardoning of one another, and to receive his Opinion, which was, that it had been better not to have troubled the Ecclesiasticks with this Question, and that those who were ask'd it, should have held their Tongues, because the Matter concerned what was equally incomprehensible to both Parties, and which served only to raise Disturbance among the People. He could not conceive, how far a Question of very small Importance, and in which, if they well understood one another, they would find they agreed in the main, they should make such a Bustle, and divide themselves in so scandalous a manner.

I do not say this (added he) as if I would constrain you to think of the same Thing on a most vain Question, or however you please to call it: For one may, without dishonouring the Assembly, and without breaking the Communion, be in different Sentiments in such inconsiderable Things. We have not all the same Wills in all Things, neither are we all of us of the same Temper of Body and Humours.

THE Emperor, it is probable afterwards, inform'd himself, that this Matter was of great Moment, yet in his Behaviour touching this Controversy, he was not always very consistent with himself. When *Arius* was condemn'd, he banish'd him, and order'd all his \* Books to be burnt; but afterwards recall'd, and invited him to come to Court, at his † own (that is, the Emperor's) Charge: He likewise shew'd little Regard to St. *Athanasius*, who had been a great Stickler against *Arius*; for when that Bishop, having, in his turn, been condemn'd by his Enemies on another Account, was sent in Exile, and those of his Party ‡ in *Alexandria* ceased not to implore the Emperor, that he might be recall'd; *Constantine* \*\*, in a Letter, upbraided the People of that Town for their Lightness and Folly, and enjoyn'd the Ecclesiasticks to remain Quiet, declaring, he would not recall *Athanasius*, whom he treats as a seditious Person; and the same Emperor answer'd likewise to *Anthony* the Hermit ††, That he could not slight the

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\* Euseb. in Vita Constant.

† Socrat. l. 1. c. 25.

‡ Sozom. l. 2. c. 31.

\*\* Euseb. in Vita Constant.

†† Euseb. in Vita Constant.

Judgment of the Council of Tyre, because, that supposing some among the Bishops were passionate, yet it was not probable that so great a Number of wise and learned Bishops should all of them act by Passion; and that Athanasius was an insolent, proud, troublesome Fellow.

THE *Arian* Heresy did not die with its Author: The Emperors *Constantius* and *Valens* \* protected it, and tho' some People out of Zeal for Orthodoxy have maintain'd, † that *Arianism* never made a great body in the World, nor was of any long \* continuance, it is certain, that that Heresy subsisted above Three Hundred Years † in Splendour; that it was for almost two Ages the predominant Religion; that it was on the Throne in the East and West; and that it reign'd in *Italy*, *France*, *Pannonia*, and *Africa*. Several have spoke very slightly of the Fathers, that compos'd the Council of *Nice*; especially *Sabinus*, \* a *Macedonian* Bishop of *Heraclea*, a Town of *Thrace*, who treats them as *Ignoramus's* in his Collection of Councils; but

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\* See Trebellius Pollio, in the Life of Galienus.

† Jurieu vray Systeme de l' Eglise p. 149.

\* Nicolle, contre Jurieu de l' unité de l' Eglise.

† Janua calorum referata, Printed at Amsterdam, 1692.  
Page 87.

\* Socrat. l. 7.

but *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cesarea*, who assisted at it, has highly † extoll'd their Wisdom and Capacity, and some Learned Men of the last Century have spoke in Defence of them. Be their Praise what it will, this is evident from many circumstances, that their Debates were as much influenc'd by private Grudges \* and Personal hatreds, as the love of Truth, or any real Piety. When several of these Bishops, after the Council of *Nice*, were met at *Jerusalem*, on another troublesome Affair, *Constantine*, who was so bigotted to the Clergy, wrote to them, complaining, † *That in a time, wherein the Barbarians began to acknowledge the true GOD, the Christians, who would be thought to have the Mysteries of GOD in their keeping (for he durst not say that they kept them) labour'd only to entertain Divisions and Hatred among them, not to say for the Destruction of Mankind.*

THE Contentions about this Mystery of the Trinity began by two Clergy-Men, have already at one time or other been the  
ruin

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† *Euseb. in vita Constant.*

\* *Sozom. l. 1. c. 17.*

† *Euseb. in vita Constant.*

ruin of Millions of Laymen, and are like to do more mischief in the World, if the Civil Magistrate interposes not and hinders the Clergy from ever reviving this Affair. Happy had it been for Christianity had all the Clergy been of Sozomen's Opinion, who said, \* *That he did not dare to relate the Creed of Nice, because some his Pious and Learned Friends in this Matter, advised him to suppress the Things, which the Institutes and Priests alone should understand, and that according to their Council, he had concealed what was to be kept silent.*

THE great Danger there is in the Quarrels of the Clergy is, that there can be no drawn Battle among them; being in all their Contests both Judges and Parties, one side must fall, and there can be no Peace without a Conquest. Could Clergy-Men have been satisfied without crushing their Adversaries, the *Arian* Heresy might have been prevented; for when the *Arians* shew'd, that they were ready to submit to a Confession express'd in the Terms propos'd to them, the Orthodox Bishops fear'd, † lest they should expound these  
 Terms

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\* Sozom. l. 1. c. 20.

† *Mons. le Clerc, in the Life of Eusebius.*

Terms in an ill Sense, and therefore made an addition to it more binding; which, when the *Arians* likewise would have subscribed to, the Orthodox still found out more hampering Terms, till at last from an incomprehensible Mystery they made it a plain and intelligible Contradiction. If this Expression be too harsh, it is no more than what the greatest Enemies of the *Antitrinitarians* are proud to own, Hear what Monsieur *Nicolle* says of the Doctrine of the Trinity. It \* confounds Reason, says he, and prompts it to revolt. If there be any visible difficulties they are those which are contain'd in that Mystery, that Three Persons really distinct have only and the same Essence, and that this Essence being the same Thing in each Person with the Relations, that distinguish them, may be communicated without the Communication of the Relations which distinguish the Persons: If Human Reason consults herself, she will rise up against those inconceivable Truths: If she pretends to make use of her own light to penetrate into them, it will furnish her with Arms to engage against them. Wherefore in order to believe them she ought to blind her self, to

stifle

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\* *Mons. Nicolle, Perpetuë de la Foi, page 118, Edit. 1668.*



*Wipe all her Ratiocinations, and depress and sink her self under the weight of Divine Authority.*

To give effectual directions for believing of Mysteries is almost as difficult as it is to explain them. As to our Duty, concerning this of the Trinity, I think we ought to examine the Scriptures and believe of it what we can conceive the Word of GOD would have us, without depriving others of the same Liberty. I would say very near the same of most Mysteries, tho' I incur the Censures of our zealous Clergy, who will call this the Advice of a Latitudinarian, if not worse: Those Gentlemen are not always very consistent with themselves. The Protestants could never have withdrawn themselves from the Church of Rome, with any shew of Reason, without denying her Infallibility; yet the Reform'd in general are so very uneasy at the loss of it for themselves, that there is hardly a Sect of them, but the Zealots of it are angry with every body, that will not submit to their Authority.

THE moderate Men of our Church are not so positive as to their own Interpretations of the Scriptures, and think that \*  
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\* *Bishop Taylor on the liberty of Prophecy.*

It is unreasonably required, that what is of it self Ambiguous, should be understood in its own prime Sense and Intention under the pain of either a Sin or Anathema. It were fit, says Bishop Taylor, that † our Confidence should be according to our Evidence, and our Zeal according to our Confidence. I desire the Reader to take the Sentiments of this Learned Prelate concerning private Judgment and Opinions on these and all Matters of Dispute in his own Words, *Since (says he) there are || so many Copies with infinite varieties of Reading; since a various interpunctiō, a Parenthesis, a Letter, an Accent may much alter the Sence; since some Places have divers litteral Senses, may have Spiritual, Mystical, and Allegorical Meanings; since there are so many Tropes, Metonymies, Ironies, Hyperboles, Proprieties, and Improperities of Language, whose understanding depends upon such Circumstances, that it is almost impossible to know the proper interpretation, now that the knowledge of such Circumstances and particular Stories is irrecoverably lost; since there are some Mysteries, which at the best advantage of Expression are not easy to be apprehended, and whose Explication by reason of our Imperfections must needs be dark, sometimes weak, sometimes unintelligible: And lastly, since these ordinary means of expounding*

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† Idem *ibid.*

|| Idem *p.* 453, *Edit.* 1657.

ing Scripture, as searching the Originals, conference of Places, parity of Reason, and analogy of Faith, are all dubious, uncertain, and very fallible; he that is the wisest, and by consequence the likeliest to expound truest, in all probability of Reason, will be very far from Confidence; because every one of these, and many more, are like so many degrees of improbability and uncertainty, all depressing our certainty of finding out Truth in such Mysteries, and amidst so many difficulties. And therefore a wise Man that considers this, would not willingly be prescrib'd to by others; for it is best, every Man should be left in that liberty, from which no Man can justly take him, unless he could secure him from Error.

THE same Bishop, having told us in another place, that all the Disputes concerning Tradition, Councils, Fathers, &c. were not Arguments besides, or against Reason, but Contestations and Pretences to the best Arguments, and the most certain Satisfaction to our Reason, goes on thus. But \* then all these coming into question submit themselves to Reason, that is, to be judg'd by human Understanding, upon the best grounds and information it can receive. So that  
Scripture,

Scripture, Tradition, Councils and Fathers, are the Evidence in a Question, but Reason is the Judge: That is, we being the Persons, that are to be perswaded, we must see, that we be perswaded reasonably; and it is unreasonable to assent to a lesser Evidence, when a greater and clearer is propounded: But of that, every Man for himself is to take Cognizance, if he be able to judge; if he not, he is not bound under the tie of necessity to know any thing of it.

IN Lessons and Considerations as these, how ungrateful soever they may be to fiery Zealots, are contain'd a true Preservative from falling into Schism, and the greatest Antidote against Persecution; for, as on the one hand, they will mitigate the Troubles of Scrupulous Consciences, so on the other, they will cure uncharitableness in those, whose sufficiency makes them incapable of bearing with any Opinion but their own.

THEY will likewise help to draw Men off from vain Speculations and empty Cavils, and to promote Concord and true Religion, for it is Union and the Practice of Vertue we want: These are the National Blessings we stand most in need of. It is not Faith we are defective in: \* The  
 Multitude

\* See page 7, 8, and 17.

Multitude in all Countries, as well as our own, are apt enough to believe what is taught them by their Spiritual Guides.

**N O T H I N G** can be more shocking to Human Reason, than the Doctrine of the real Presence in the Eucharist; yet we find not, that among the Roman Catholics, who maintain Transubstantiation, or the Lutherans, who hold a Consubstantiation, the People boggle more at the Articles of their Faith, than they do among others, by whom the Words that have occasion'd that pretended Mystery, are taken in a figurative Sense.

**T H E R E** is hardly a Truth more easily apprehended, or which we are more convinc'd of, than that Two and Two make Four: Yet were Men to be taught from their Infancy that it was a Mystery, that on a certain occasion Two and Two made Seven, with an addition to be believ'd on pain of Damnation, I am perswaded, that at least Seven in Ten would swallow the shameful Paradox, and that if they had always seen others ill treated for disbelieving of it, by that they were come to Years of Maturity, they would not only assert it themselves, but likewise dislike, if not hate those, who should call it in question. We must suppose, that it had  
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been inculcated to them with Application and Assiduity by Parents, Nurses, Masters, and all that had the Tuition of, or any direction over them. Few People are acquainted with the force of Prejudice: They are not capable of examining any thing which is rooted into them by Education and Custom.

BUT, that my Reader may see the Opinion of one of our greatest Divines, concerning the Effects of Dogmatizing in Divinity, and the Proneness of the People to believe, I shall quote part of what Archbishop Tillotson says \* of Mysteries on Account of Transubstantiation, *We will suppose them, says his Grace, that about the time when universal Ignorance, and the Genuine Daughter of it, (call her Devotion or Superstition) had overspread the World, and the Generality of the People were strongly inclin'd to believe strange Things; and even the greatest Contradictions were recommended to them under the Notion of Mysteries; being told by their Priests and Guides, that the more Contradictious any Thing is to Reason, the greater Merit there is in believing it: I say let us suppose, that in this State of Things, one or more of the most eminent then in the Church, either out of*

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\* Archbishop Tillotson in his Rule of Faith, p. 716, &c.

Design, or out of superstitious Ignorance, and mistake of the Sense of our Saviour's Words, used in the Consecration of the Sacrament, should advance this new Doctrine, that the Words of Consecration, &c. ——— Such a Doctrine as this was likely to be advanced by the Ambitious Clergy of that Time, as a probable Means to draw in the People to a greater Veneration of them. ——— Nor was such a Doctrine less likely to take and prevail among the People in an Age prodigiously Ignorant, and strongly inclin'd to Superstition, and thereby well prepar'd to receive the grossest Absurdities under the Notion of Mysteries ——— Now supposing such a Doctrine as this so fitted to the Humour and Temper of the Age, to be once asserted either by Chance or out of Design, it would take like Wild-fire; especially if by some one or more who bore sway in the Church, it were but recommended with convenient Gravity and Solemnity ——— And for the Contradictions contain'd in this Doctrine, it was but telling the People then (as they do in effect now) that Contradictions ought to be no Scruple in the way of Faith; that the more impossible any thing is, 'tis the fitter to be believ'd; that it is not Praise-worthy to believe plain Possibilities, but this is the Gallantry and heroical Power of Faith; this is the way to oblige God Almighty for ever to us, to believe flat and downright Contradictions ——— The more  
absurd

*absurd and unreasonable a Thing is, the more proper Matter for an Article of Faith. And if any of these Innovations be objected against, as contrary to former Belief and Practice, it is but putting forth a lusty Act of Faith, and believing another Contradiction, that though they be contrary, yet they are the same.*

No candid Reader can imagine, that I would endeavour to make flight of Faith, or lessen the Reverence which is due to the Real Mystery of our Religion, and I can assure him, that the great end, of what I have said and quoted of others in this Chapter, is to promote the Publick Peace and Tranquility, by shewing, how consistent it may be made with our Piety to God, and Charity to our Neighbours. For which reason, I recommend the Serious Consideration of it; First to those of the Orthodox, who can accommodate themselves to every Word of our Creeds, conjuring them not to exact rigorously the same of every body, who owns himself to be of their Communion.

When Men are peaceable and quiet without ever desiring to mention the Scruples, which perhaps they may labour under in their private Opinion, they ought not to be forc'd to Subscribe to every Mo-



del of Faith that others shall conceive for them. Those trials are ever attended with Human Passion, and end in Personal Hatreds. A Man may believe the same in substance with us, but have a scruple concerning perhaps one single Word in a whole Article of Faith: When we consider, that this Article was drawn up by uninspired Men, and perhaps put in those Words on purpose to puzzle an Adversary, who had shew'd a dislike to them; Is it not unchristian like, to drag such a Man out of his Closet to make him sign to it, and not suffer him to rest, till by his refusal we shall have an opportunity of calling him Heretick, and exposing him as an Enemy to G O D and Religion? But how inhuman and how execrable would it be, Should this ever be done with a design to rob him of his Livelyhood, and the good Opinion of his fellow Christians, that are unacquainted with the Controversy?

BUT I would not more earnestly persuade the Orthodox Rigorists to avoid all narrow Scrutinies of Consciences but their own, than I would exhort the Admirers of Human Understanding not to rely too much upon their own sufficiency. How useful soever Philosophy may be to the Society, and the Affairs of Human Life;  
it

It is the worst Guide to Eternity, and ought never to be mix'd with Theology. He that will admit of no Proof inferiour to a Mathematical Demonstration can never be a Christian, and there is no System found out yet, by which the Socinians themselves could explain, and salve the difficulties to be met with in the Gospel, even according to their own Interpretation. Every Man of Thought must be convinced, that there are Truths, which are incomprehensible.

I shall end this Chapter by setting forth in two easy Instances the difference there is, between Things that are above Reason, and surpass our Capacity, and such as are against Reason, and contradict Demonstration:

WAS I to hear of a Man, who could see through an Oaken Plank two Inches thick, every where solid and entire, I would refuse to believe it, even on the Testimony of Ten Thousand credible Witnesses: But had GOD revealed to me, that he had made such a one, I would immediately submit, and as soon as I was satisfy'd that the Revelation was really Divine, believe it as surely, and, if it be possible, with less scruple than now I believe that there is such a Place as *Japan*, which has been con-

Arm'd to me several Hundred ways. I would laugh at any body, that should talk of strait Pores, and what only would make Things Diaphanous; I would not hearken to Opticks or Refractions, and despise all Reasoners, who should pretend to demonstrate the impossibility of it. Here a Man would have nothing to do, but to Conquer the good Opinion he has of Human Understanding, the shallowness of which, the most knowing are so well convinc'd of on Thousand Occasions. In this case I would not only call it Presumption, but the highest Insolence, to oppose the Penetration of all the Philosophers in the World to the least Idea, a reasonable Man can have of the Omnipotence of G O D.

THE proud Naturalists and Mathematicians, who should endeavour to dissuade me from my Belief I would lead into a Contemplation of the immensity, and the order of the Creation, the union between Soul and Body, and other wonders of the Universe, that are most obvious; and having made them sensible of the pitiful stock of real knowledge they are possess'd of, I would ask them: What it was, He could not make, that had made Heaven and Earth.

But

**B**UT on the other hand, when a Man once knows that Two and Two makes Four, and yet asserts, that he believes that Two and Two on a certain occasion may make Seven ; if he be sincere it is evident, that he either knows not what he says, or at least understands not what to believe signifies. For after all, tho' a Man may believe a thing to be true, which he apprehends not at all, it is impossible he should believe the contrary of what he plainly apprehends to be true.





## CHAP. V.

### *Of Free-Will and Predestination.*



**W**HAT we call the Will is properly the last Result of deliberation, either long or short, which immediately precedes the execution of, or at least the endeavour to execute the Thing Will'd: I say the result, which immediately precedes the execution; for, when a Will or Volition is made long before the execution of the thing Will'd, it is only call'd a Resolution, and always requires a latter Will to set about it, and sometimes a great many, or else will never be executed. So a Man, whose Head achs after a Debauch, says, and perhaps with great sincerity, that he will live soberly for the future. But these might better be call'd Wishes, than Wills or Volitions; which latter always imply an execution,

## *Of Free-Will and Predestination. 89*

or at least, an endeavour for it: And these can never be free; for as soon as the Will is made, the Thing will'd is determin'd, and before it is made it is no Will yet; but only a deliberation, what to Will.

**T**HIS reason, why every Body imagines that he has a Free-Will, is, because we are Conscious that in the choice of Things we feel a Power (which we perceive not to be controuled by any thing) to determine our Judgment either way. But when once we reflect on what passes within us, and consider that in making this choice, at least in Things of moment, and that are worth observing, we consult all our Faculties, and are forc'd in spite of our Teeth to chuse that, which, to our then present inclination, often to our visible detriment, seems to be most eligible. If we reflect on this, I say, our Will shall not seem to be as free, as is commonly imagin'd.

**E**VERY Body can wish what he pleases, but it is not so with his Will; and, was the one as Arbitrary as the other, there would be more Virtue, and not half the Misery, and what are call'd Misfortunes in the World, of what we now see Men labour under. There is hardly a Person so debauch'd, but what has often wish'd, tho' but for his Health's or For-  
tunes.

## 90 *Of Free-Will and Predestination.*

tune's sake, that it was in his Power to lead a more regular Life : What is it hinders him, but his Appetites and Inclinations, that influence and seduce his Will, and do him the same Prejudice he could receive from a fatal and unavoidable Necessity of Sinning ?

**T H A T** the true Motives of our Will so often pass by undiscover'd, is to be attributed to the swiftness of Thought, and the sudden Diversity of our Volitions, which often succeed each other so much at the same instant, that when Men are in haste and irresolute, we may sometimes observe one part of the Body yet employ'd in executing a former Will, whilst another shall be already obeying the Commands of a latter : But when we act slowly, and what is called deliberately, the Motives of every Volition must be obvious to all that have the Courage, as well as Capacity, to search into them.

**G I V E** to two Men each a Glass in his Hand of some Value, which, if he breaks it, he is to pay for : Let the one be of a covetous Nature, but no Wrangler, and very pliable as to Opinion ; the other very positive, but lavish of his Money. Dispute with either of these pretty warmly against Free-will, and the Power he has of dropping

## *Of Free-Will and Predestination. 91*

ping the Glass, or keeping it in his Hand. The first, depend upon it, will not let it fall; and, dare him to it never so much, he'll content himself with saying, that he is sure he can do it if he will, but that he has no Mind to throw away so much Money to be laugh'd at. The other, 'tis ten to one, but will dash it to pieces, and if he dares speak his Mind, tell you, that he had rather pay for the Glass, than not have the Pleasure to convince you of your Folly, Obstinacy, or what else his Passion or Manners shall give him leave to call it.

I doubt not but both Persons would be fully perswaded, and therefore might swear with a good Conscience, that they had acted from a Principle of Free-will, though it seems plain to me, that each of them was prompted to what he did, and over-rul'd by a predominant Passion. I know very well, that it is possible that the covetous Man might have broke the Glass, as well as the other, but then his Love for Money must have been less, or his desire of Triumph greater than would be suitable to the Character I required him to be of.

THIS may serve to put us in Mind, with what Care and Vigilance we ought

to.



## §2 Of Free-Will and Predestination.

to examine and guard our selves against those Passions, which so artfully govern and hurry us away, even unknowingly to our selves. The Solidity of which Moral, I hope, will make Amends for the Meanness of the Example, which some may imagine to be below the Dignity of the Subject I treat of in this Chapter.

**T**HIS Word Predestination is so well understood by all Parties, that it would be superfluous to explain it further. That this is a Doctrine openly laid down in the Gospel is evident to all that can read; that it is likewise attended with Difficulties inexplicable to humane Reason, is as undeniable. I shall only take Notice of the chief Objection that is made against it, which is, that it makes **GOD** the Author of Sin. The Plainness with which this Doctrine has been taught by *St. Paul*, and the terrible Consequences to be drawn from it by as plain a manner of Reasoning, have occasioned innumerable Heresies and Schisms, each of which has, at different times, been the Cause of Thousands of Mischiefs and Calamities among Christians.

**I**T is certain, that whilst we only follow the Light of Nature, nothing can be more inconsistent with the Ideas we have

of

## Of Free-Will and Predestination. 93

of the Justice and Goodness of G O D, that that a Creature should be punished for Sins, which from Eternity it was decreed he should commit. It is this that has produced the System of Free-will ; but I shall endeavour to demonstrate on the one hand, that the Assertors of humane Liberty, the Socinians not excepted, have not removed the Difficulty as to the Origin of Evil ; and on the other, that all the Solution and Arguments of the Predestinarians, drawn from human Reason have hitherto been insufficient to answer the Objections that have been made to them. And when from hence it shall appear, that the Debate is about the greatest Mystery of our Religion, I doubt not but to convince every reasonable Man, that it is a fitter Subject for our Resignation to the reveal'd Will of G O D, than it is for Quarrels and Contentions with one another

IT would hardly be possible to think of any Thing, that in so many thousand Controversies, as are to be met with on this Head, has not been said by one or other ; for this reason, I have in my Eye a celebrated Author, who was endu'd with a vast Stock of Learning, and no less Penetration, and has treated of this Matter with greater Moderation and Impartiality than any other. From him I shall borrow

*Preface*

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row several Passages, and often manage what I have to say in his Words, with little Addition of my own.

IT must be allow'd, that the Hypothesis of humane Liberty seems at first View to clear the Doubt: But it only puts the Mischief farther off, and can never take it away. It is needless to run thro' the several Degrees, and the different Systems that have been made of it by the *Pelagians, Semi-pelagians, Origenists, Molinists, Synergists, and Arminians*, and many others; since those who suppose the most absolute Free-will, if they are closely pursued, must at last be involv'd in, and leave the same Difficulties unclar'd, which frighten Men from Predestination. From the simple Question, What is the Cause of Sin? The result of a thousand Disputes must at long run be this. GOD is eternal, and a Being infinitely Good, so there could be no Evil before the World was made; GOD created the World, then whence comes Evil?

THIS, allowing the System of the Creation, being unanswerable to human Capacities, produced in the second Century the *Marcionites*, and after them \* the *Manicheans*

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\* In the third Century.

## Of Free-Will and Predestination. 95

*cheans.* These Hereticks denied the Old Testament, and, among other Impieties, supposed two Coeternal Principles, the one of all † Good, and the other of all Evil: The good Principle they said, would have made every Thing good, if he had not been oppos'd; but the bad Principle being as powerful, and equally desirous to introduce Evil, as the other was to do Good, the good Principle was forc'd to yield to Necessity; and thus the World, which is a Compound of Good and Evil, was, after many Conflicts, produced by the Agreement of these two Principles.

How opposite soever this Opinion was to Reveal'd Religion, and the clearest Ideas, we have of the Unity of G O D, when once this monstrous Hypothesis was admitted, it explain'd the Phenomena of humane Life better than any other, and solv'd innumerable Difficulties, that were inexplicable to the Orthodox, whilst both Parties confin'd themselves to the Light of Nature. Nothing was more easy to the Fathers of the Church, than to overthrow these Heresies, when they attack'd them upon the Absurdity of their System, and the Orthodox were the Aggressors; but, when

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† Augustin de Heres. c. 46.

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when the *Manicheans* made the Attack, it was a very hard Task to answer their Objections, and the Fathers would not have triumph'd over them at so cheap a rate as they did, had the others known better how to push them home. Had *Cerdon, Marcion, Apelles,* and *Manes* been as able Disputants, as many have been in the last Century among the Jesuits and Jansenists, they would not have been silenc'd as they were.

WHEN the Hereticks, by way of opposition, enquir'd into the Cause of Evil, they were commonly answer'd, that Man was created by G O D in a happy State; but he, not following the Light of his Conscience, which was intended by the Author of his Being to conduct him in the way of Virtue, became wicked and so deserv'd, that G O D, who was sovereignly Just as well as Good, should make him feel the Effect of his Wrath; so that G O D is not the Author of moral Evil, but of physical Evil, which is the punishment of moral Evil. When this was answer'd them, or any thing else, by which the Cause of Sin was thrown on the Free-will of the Creature, they had nothing to reply; but if they had ask'd why this Free-will was given to Man, or if it was given, why so good a Judge as he was, it should determine

## *Of Free-Will and Predestination. 97*

mine his Choice to Evil, more Work would have been cut out for their Antagonists: For every Man's Reason must suggest to him, that if Man was the Workmanship of a Principle infinitely Good and Holy, he should not only have been created without any actual Evil, but also without any Inclination, or the least Propensity to Evil, since that Inclination is such a Defect, as could not have such a Principle for its Cause.

**WHAT** Origen told the Marcionites, *That \* an intelligent Creature, who had not enjoy'd Free-will, had been immutable and immortal like G O D, is likewise easy to refute.* They need only to have ask'd Origen, **Whether the Blessed in Paradiſe are equal to G O D in the Attributes of Immutability and Immortality.** He must have answer'd in the Negative, and consequently it is not true, that a Creature becomes a G O D, because it is determin'd to do Good, and depriv'd of that which he calls Fre-will,

**THE** Answer of St. Basil has the same Fault: G O D, (says he) *would † not have*  
H as

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\* In a Dialogue against the Marcionites, attributed to Origen, Sect. 3.

† Basiliius magnus, Tom. 1. in homilia quod deus non sit auctor mali.

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*us to love him by Constraint, and we our Selves do not think our Servants well dispos'd to our Service whilst we hold them in Chains, but only when they obey us from their own free Pleasure.* What would St. Basil have replied, if they had remonstrated to him, that in Paradise G O D is lov'd and serv'd perfectly well, and yet the Blessed do not enjoy Free-will, and that they have not that fatal Privilege of the Power to commit Sin? Must we therefore compare them to Slaves? And again, What would he say to the Righteous upon Earth, who by the Assistance of the Divine Grace love their heavenly Father, and perform good Works? Does the Grace of G O D reduce the Faithful to the Condition of Slaves? It is evident then that without infringing the Liberty of the Creature, G O D could infallibly determine it to what is Good, and therefore Sin does not proceed from hence, that the Creator could not prevent it without destroying the Free-will of the Creature; but we must look out for some other Cause of it.

S O M E have urg'd, that G O D permitted Sin to manifest his Wisdom, which shines more brightly by the Disorders, which the Wickedness of Men produces every Day, than it would have done in a State of Innocence: But this is inconsistent with the Ideas we have of the Justice and  
Good.

*Of Free-will and Predestination.* 99

Goodness of **G O D**, and would be to compare the **D e i**ty to a Father, who should suffer his Children to break their Legs, on purpose to shew all the City his great Skill in setting their broken Bones.

**M A N Y** more Reasons have been alledg'd for the Permission of Sin; but the best of them, that are not taken from the Mysteries of our Religion, may be oppos'd by others more specious and more agreeable to the Ideas we have of Order, and the Difficulty concerning the Origin of Evil remains in Natural as well as Reveal'd Religion; for which Reason the Fathers had the Heathen Philosophers to answer on this Head, as well as the Hereticks that sprung from the Church.

**S O M E** of the Pagans have made weighty Objections against Providence: That of *Epicurus* as to Evil, is of great force. **G O D**, says he, is either willing to take away Evil, and is not able; or he is able, and not willing, or else he is neither willing nor able, or he is both willing and able. If he is willing and not able, he is weak, which can't be said of **G O D**; if he is able and not willing, he is envious, which is equally absurd to say; If he is neither willing nor able, he is both weak and envious: And if he is both willing and able,



## ...redestination.

...of the four that can  
...whence comes Evil ?  
...moral Evil ; but, if it  
...ment would be still more  
...antius answers ; \*That GOD  
...not willing to take away Evil,  
...envious for all that : For the  
...ays he, why GOD takes not away  
...because it gives us Wisdom, and at  
...ame time more Good, and more Plea-  
...in that Wisdom, than there is Trouble in  
...It is through Wisdom we know GOD,  
...and through that Knowledge we gain Immorta-  
...lity, which is the highest Good ; so that unless  
...we first know Evil, we can never attain to the  
...Knowledge of Good. But this Epicurus sees  
...not, nor any other, that if Evil be taken away,  
...Wisdom is taken away in like manner, and  
...there remain in Men no Footsteps of Virtue,  
...the Essence of which consists in bearing and  
...overcoming the Bitterness of Evil. Thus for  
...a small Space we should be without Evil ; we  
...should be destitute of the greatest and real Good  
...that belongs to us.

THIS Answer of *Lactantius* is not only  
pitiful and weak, but full of Errors, and  
perhaps Heresies. It supposes, that GOD  
must produce Evil, because otherwise he  
would not be able to communicate either  
Wif-

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\* *Lactant. de ira Dei, cap. 13.*

Wisdom or Virtue, or the Knowledge of what is Good. It overthrows all that Divines tell us about the Happiness of Paradise, and the State of Innocence. Are we not told, that *Adam* and *Eve* in this happy State felt, without any Mixture of Uneasiness, all the Pleasures which that delicious and charming Place the Garden of *Eden*, where *GOD* placed them, could afford them? Besides, do not all Christians take it for granted, that, if they had not sinned, they and all their Posterity should have enjoy'd this Happiness without being subject either to Diseases or Troubles, and that neither the Elements nor Animals had ever done them any Harm? It was their Sin that expos'd them to Cold and Heat, to Hunger and Thirst, to Pain and Sorrow, and to the Mischiefs, which certain Beasts do to us.

It is so far from being true, that Virtue and Wisdom cannot belong to a Man without Physical Evil, as *Lactantius* affirms, that on the contrary it must be maintain'd, that Man has been subject to this Evil only, because he renounc'd Virtue and Wisdom. The Stoicks, who denied that *GOD* could ever be angry, had committed the same Fault, as *Lactantius*, and maintain'd the Usefulness of Vice, with-

out \* which, they said, there could have been no Virtue. But see how solidly they were refuted by *Plutarch*. *Is there † then,* says he, *no Good among the Gods, because there is no Evil? And when Jupiter having resolved all Matter into himself, shall be alone, other Differences being taken away, will there then be no Good, because there is no Evil? But is it true, that there is Melody in a Choir, though none in it sing faultily, and Health in the Body, though no Member is sick; and cannot Virtue have its Existence without Vice? I wonder they do not say, that the Consumption was made for the sound Constitution of Men's Bodies, and the Gout for the Swiftness of their Feet, and that Achilles would not have had a good Head of Hair, if Therfites had not been bald: For what Difference is there between such Triflers and Ravers, and those, who say, that Intemperance was brought forth not unprofitably for Continence, nor Injustice for Justice, that so we may pray to the Gods there may be always Wickedness?*

THE Argument of *Epicurus*, without the Help of Reveal'd Religion, is not to be answer'd by any other System, but that of the two Principles, which immediately clears that and all other Difficulties concerning

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\* Aul. Gellius, *lib. 6. c. 1.*  
 † *Plutarch, lib. 8. c. 1.*

## Of Free-Will and Predestination. 103

cerning the Origin of Evil. How strange and deplorable is the Fate of human Reason, that the worst of Hereticks, nay the Heathens themselves, should with an Hypothesis altogether absurd and contradictory, be able to explain, what we experience, a hundred times better than Orthodox Christians do with a Supposition so just, so necessary and so true, of one first Principle, which is infinitely Good and Almighty !

THIS Doctrine of two Principles, which is now known by the Name of Manicheism, has often violently disturb'd the Peace of the Church. It settled in several Provinces of the Empire, and some of the Marcionites were so zealous for this Impiety, as to die for it, which made them boast of having had many Martyrs. \**St. Augustin*, among others, before he was converted by *St. Ambrose*, had embrac'd this Heresy, and maintain'd most of the Doctrines of it with great Fervency. The Paulicians, the Carpocratians, the Gnosticks, and several other Sects of Hereticks among the Christians, were all of this Opinion; but the Doctrine itself had not its rise from Christianity, and was much older. *It is † impossible, says Plu-*

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*tarcb*

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\* *August. Confess. lib. 6. c. 15.*

† *Plutarch. Isis & Osir.*

tarch in his Treatise of *Isis and Osiris*, that one Cause alone, whether Good or Bad, (should be the Principle of all Things together; and having given several Reasons and Instances to prove his Assertion, he adds; For nothing can be without a preceding Cause, and what is Good in itself can never be the Cause of Evil; Nature therefore must have a Principle, from which Evil proceeds as its Cause and Principle, as well as another from which Good proceeds: 'Tis the Opinion of the greatest Part, and the Wisest among the Ancients; for some think there are two Gods of different Professions, the one the Author of all Good, the other of all Evil.

**PYTHAGORAS** and *Plato* held the same false Tenet; but the first, who is known to have broach'd this Doctrine, was *Zoroaster*, King of the *Bactrians*. The good Principle he call'd \* *Oromazes*, the other *Arimanius*. He passed likewise for the first † Inventor of Magick. This *Zoroaster* lived above Eight hundred Years (some say much \*\* more) before the *Trojan War*, and has made himself one of the most famous Men in the World. There are

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\* *Diogenes Laert. in proœmio.*

† *Justin. lib. I. c. I.*

\*\* *Hermippus & Hermodorus. See Diogen. in Laert. in proœm.*

## Of Free-Will and Predestination. 105

are learned Men †† who affirm, that there remain some of this Sect in the *Indies*, and other Parts of *Asia*, to this Day.

I N *Europe* and *Asia* the Doctrine of two Coeternal Principles has not been maintaind for many Ages, though a Manichean now a Days would be more formidable than ever, and there is hardly an Argument, that in the Controversy about Free-will and Predestination has been made use of these two last Centuries, but what would strengthen his System, was nothing but humane Reason admitted of to judge by.

R E V E A L ' D Religion therefore, the Old and New Testament, are only capable of cutting this Gordian Knot: For it is as great an Absurdity to suppose the supreme Being to be destitute of infinite Power and Knowledge, as it is to make him Cruel and Tyrannical to the last Extremity. But it is yet more unaccountable than either, that Men should be willing to give up a considerable Part of G O D ' s Knowledge and Power, when they must necessarily see, that even by their own Scheme they cannot clear the Attributes they contend for, and

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†† *Dr. Hyde, Histor. Religion. veterum perlat.*

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standing! G O D would have remedied this; but was not able.

B U T if G O D had had a Preservative, that would effectually have prevented this mischief, is it agreeable to the Notions we have of infinite Goodness, that he would not have given it to Man? Yet this is the case: They can't deny, but that G O D might have assisted our first Parents with his Grace: Yet it is plain that he did not: Could not the fatal present of Free-Will, which G O D had given him been recall'd on such an Emergency? Would a good Mother who had given leave to her Daughters to go to a Ball, not revoke that leave, if she was sure, that they would yeild to enticement and lose their Honour? Or if she had an infallible Preservative against all Temptations, that was likewise extremely delightful to all that made use of it, Would she ever send her Daughters to this Ball without it?

T H E only Thing they have left to answer is; that G O D would have assisted them with his Grace, if he had known what would have have happened; but that it is impossible to foresee Events that depend upon Contingencies. But even this is a poor Refuge. Let us carry on the same Comparison a little further: If that  
Mother

Mother should go to this Ball, and through a Window should see and understand, that one of her Daughters defends herself but weakly in the Corner of a Chamber, against the Solicitations of a crafty deceiver: If, even when she sees, that her Daughter is but one step from yeilding to the Desires of the Tempter, she should not go when to assist her and deliver her from the Snare; Would the World still count her a good Mother? This is a representation of the Conduct which the Socinians attribute to G O D.

T H E Y cannot say, that he knew the Sin of the first Man, but as a possible Event; he knew all the particulars of the Temptation, and he must needs have known a moment before *Eve* yielded, that she was going to destroy her self: For they don't deny, but that G O D knew all the Thoughts of *Eve*. He did therefore suffer her to Sin; and this he did at the same time, when he fore-saw that she would certainly Sin.

T H E Sin of *Adam* was yet more certainly foreseen, for the Example of *Eve* gave some light the better to foresee the fall of *Adam*. If G O D had purposed to preserve Man and his Innocency, and to prevent all the Miseries which were to be the consequence



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sequence of Sin, would he not at least have fortify'd the Husband after the Wife had fall'n? Would he not have given him another Wife Sound and Perfect, instead of that which was seduc'd? It is evident therefore, that the Socinian System, by depriving GOD of Prescience, reduces him to Slavery and a pitiful form of Government; and does not remove the grand difficulty, which it should remove, and which forces these Herericks to deny the foreknowledge of contingent Events.

A Predestinarian likewise labours to as little purpose, who, by Philosophical Reasons, endeavours to make good his Doctrine, and by dint of Argument pretends to clear it from the difficulties it is liable to. When it is objected to him, that his System is necessarily attended with this consequence; Therefore GOD is the Author of Sin; he ought to drop Philosophy; and run to his Bible; for here the Light of Nature will not serve him, but to render the Charge against him the more evident, the more he wrangles, if he has an able Antagonist. The best answer he can make is this: I see as well as you the Connexion of my Principle with that Consequence, and my Reason, that sees it, does not afford me a sufficient Knowledge to make me understand how I am mistaken

## Of Free-Will and Predestination. 112

in seeing it; nevertheless I am fully persuaded, that G O D finds in the infinite Treasures of his Power and Wisdom, a certain and most infallible way of breaking that Connexion, though it be unknown to me, and exceeds the extent of my Knowledge.

THIS ought to be the Answer of a Predestinarian. But, as we can follow no better Guides than the Apostles themselves, let us examine how St. Paul has behav'd himself in this important Matter.

HE establishes absolute Predestination in the plainest and concisest manner. *He hath Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will be hardneth.* Upon this the Apostle, who knew very well what would naturally be objected against such a Doctrine, starts the Difficulty himself, *Thou wilt say then unto me. Why does he yet find Fault? For who has resisted his Will?* No Molinist, nor the most acute Philosopher of the Socinians could have said any thing to push the Objection further. And neither St. Austin, Luther, Calvin, or any of the Thomists or Jansenists have ever said any thing, from which more occasion may be taken to conclude, that G O D will have Men to commit Sin. Which will still be more evident, if we observe, that just before the  
Apostle

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Apostle had put us in Mind of the Transactions between *Moses* and *Pharaoh*, where we meet with the most remarkable Instance of the Divine Sovereignty, that is any where extant; as had it been to hinder us from making any feint and evasive Construction of what he meant by *Hardening*. GOD we know had first hardened the Heart of *Pharaoh* against all the Threatnings and Miracles of *Moses*, and afterwards punished him for Disobedience. A Conduct directly opposite to all our humane Notions of Justice and Goodness. I take Notice of this to demonstrate how remote the Apostle's Thoughts seem to have been from mollifying the Expression, or denying the Fact. All the Solution he gives to the Objection proposed, is the Sovereign Power of GOD, and the Right the Creator has to dispose of his Creatures as it seems Good to him, *Nay, but oh Man! who art thou that repliest against GOD? Shall the Thing form'd say to him that form'd it, why hast thou made me thus?* This the Apostle insists upon, and in the next Verse repeats the Substance of it over again in a Comparison, the most adapted to inspire us with Humility and Resignation.

St. *Paul*, inspired as he was, does not pretend, that he is able to account for it  
any

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any other way: He is at a loss himself, the great Apostle of the *Gentiles*, in whom humane Learning was joyn'd with Divine Inspiration. Mind the Philosophy he makes use of. *O the Depth and the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of GOD! How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out!* This ought to put an end to all Disputes, and impose a profound Silence on our Reason. The subtlest Logician, or most learned Theologist after this can have no more Claim or Colour to be Dogmatical on this Head, than the simplest shepherd, or the most illiterate Plowman; or in Point of Penetration into the Reveal'd Will of GOD, I will not ask leave to affirm, that the Superiority which the ablest Divine has over the meanest Peasant, is much less than what *St. Paul* would have had over the ablest Divine the World has had to boast of since the time of the Apostles. Must not both Parties blush, when they pretend to teach with Clearness what was a Mystery to *St. Paul*?

As it is Superstition to forge and multiply Mysteries without necessity, and where, by a just Interpretation, Matters may be made intelligible to us; so not to allow Things to be Mysterial, when the Word of GOD expressly teaches us, that they are such, is no less than renouncing

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Christianity. The Carpocratians \* stand accus'd of having plac'd the Image of *Aristotle* next to that of **JESUS CHRIST**, and paid equal Adoration to both. If the Impiety of these Hereticks seem strange, what must we say to those, who pretend to a profound Veneration for a Religion altogether built upon Mysteries, and at the same time refuse to admit of any thing which they cannot plainly apprehend by the Light of Nature?

LET me advise those Idolaters of humane Understanding, not to forget Humanity on another Account, and once begin to think of Charity and Tolleration. The Impossibility there is of reconciling either the System of Predestination, or that of Free-will, to all the necessary Attributes of **GOD**, ought, if not to unite Men, at least make them desist from Quarrelling, and taxing one another with teaching of impious Things and horrid Blasphemies. Those who are against Tolleration of either side, might be bore with, if they could clearly prove their Opinion, and answer all Objections after a convincing manner; but that Men should anathematise, banish and hang those that dissent from them,  
tho'

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\* Baronius ann. Eccles. and annum 120.

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tho' their best Solution is GOD'S Incomprehensibility, is a Thing altogether inexcusable.

I shall leave this Subject with what is not common among Divines of different Opinions, a bright Example of Moderation and Humanity, which it is the Interest of every Country, all Clergy-men should follow. *Melanchton* was the Head of the Synergists, \* a Sect of *German* Divines in the sixteenth Century, who thinking, that *Luther's* Hypothesis about Free-will was too harsh, taught, that Men are not converted by GOD'S Grace, without the Concourse of their Will. Every Body knows how absolute a Predestinarian *Calvin* was, and what Clamours were rais'd against him on this Head, that he was represented as having broach'd the most monstrous Doctrine, and made GOD the Author of Sin in the most execrable manner.

YET *Melanchton* had a sincere Value and † Friendship for *Calvin*, and wrote in Defence of him on several occasions. He knew, that that great Man abhorr'd the Impieties that were laid to his Charge,

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and

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\* *Micellius Syntagm. hist. Eccles.*

† *Beza in vita Calvin, ad ann. 1552.*

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and that in none of his Works he had ever ascrib'd any thing to G O D, but what was just and holy; but well, that he had taught, that the Conduct of G O D surpassing finite Capacities, was not too narrowly to be pry'd into; that his Judgments are a mysterious Abyfs we ought not to meddle with, and that his Ways are incomprehensible. This *Melanchton* demonstrated to the other's Enemies, always extolling the Piety and good Intention of *Calvin*, notwithstanding the Disagreement of their Opinions.

*CALVIN* believ'd, that the supreme Empire of G o d, and the Rights of a Providence worthy of the infinite Being, required an absolute Predestination. *Melanchton* believ'd that the Goodness, Holiness and Justice of the supreme Being requir'd we should be free in our Actions. These were their Principles. Both aim'd at the same thing, the greatest Glory of G O D. The candid *Melanchton* being convinc'd of this, as well as the Difficulty and inexplicableness of the Matter they differ'd about, was always ready to do *Calvin* Justice, admired his vast Parts and Erudition, and own'd him for his Fellow Labourer in the Ministry of the Gospel.

C H A P.



## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the CHURCH.*



**S** no civilis'd Nation ever was without Religion, so Divine Worship has always been accounted the Business of all Mankind, and a Duty in which the meanest, as well as the highest, from the Prince to the Beggar, are equally concern'd. This, and the Respect due to the Deity to be adored, have been the Reason that the Edifices set apart for a general Worship, were always not only spacious, but as soon as Man could raise them, likewise fine and stately Structures. As this must make the building of them very Expensive, they are generally rais'd at the



Publick Cost, and therefore Temples are National, and only made use of to celebrate that Worship, that belongs to the National Religion, which the Government, and the Generality of a Country profess.

ALL the World takes Delight more or less in Excellency and Beauty, every one judging according to his Taste and Capacity, and the greatest Part of the Multitude have nothing to boast of of their own, that exceeds Mediocrity; for this Reason, the common People are fond of every thing that belongs to the Publick, which is Praise-worthy. Here every Body counts himself a Sharer; when one Nation beats another in Battle, the whole Country rejoyce; those who staid at Home are as proud of the Victory as the Conquerors themselves, and a Man that is Bed-ridden imagines to have a Part in the Honour of the Day. This Consideration may furnish us with the Reason, why the poorest People, who, generally speaking, have no extraordinary Dwellings to brag of, should have such an excessive Value for their Temples abstract from Religion.

MEN don't stand calculating what Proportion their Persons bear to the whole, it is sufficient that they are Sharers, and what

is Publick, all Members of the Society have the liberty of calling their own; and no human Creature can be so abject in a Country, but he may have the Pleasure of saying, our Army, our Fleet, our Government, our Funds: It is likewise observ'd, that the love and value which from this notable Propriety Men conceive for things, that belong to the whole Society, are greater or lesser, according as those Things are either soon perishable or more lasting. One Storm destroys a whole Fleet, an Army is often disbanded in a Day, and the Publick Treasure may soon be squander'd away or exhausted by Necessity; but strong Edifices, such as Temples and Halls remain for many Generations. As great lovers as Men are of Novelty, they look upon it as a Weakness, and all have a great Veneration for Things not easily alterable, and such as are known to have been of great Duration.

IT has been sufficiently shewn in the foregoing Chapters, that inward Religion and spiritual Devotion, are not what the Multitude was ever much affected with. They must have something more gross that employs their Senses, and therefore whenever we would speak to the Vulgar pathetically about Religion, we make use of the Words, Altar and Temple, Things that

are visible; or else strictly speaking, Religion itself, especially the Christian, has nothing to do with Temples, or any Building, and therefore our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd and taught in private Houses, or, when their Followers were more numerous, in the open Air: They would invade no Body's Right, and to shew, that neither great Numbers, nor stately Structures were of any Consideration as to Godliness, CHRIST told his Disciples, that where two or three were gather'd together in his Name, he would be among them.

THE Assembly then of the Faithful among Christians, whether they met in a Room or a Desert, were, in the Time of the Apostles, call'd Churches, and all that believ'd in CHRIST, wheresoever dispers'd, were counted Members of his universal Church. As afterwards they increas'd in Numbers, and were favour'd or tollerated by the Governors they liv'd under, the Christians built many Meeting-houses, which, from the Assemblies that met there, were in Tract of Time call'd Churches. The same Name was bestow'd on some of the Heathen Temples, as soon as the Pagans were turn'd out, and the Christians were possess'd of them; and at all Changes in Government, or publick Worship, the Priests in Favour all the World over,

over, as well as in the *Roman Empire*, always took Care of the Temples and their Appurtenances. The first Church dedicated to *St. Paul* in *England*, was Originally a Pagan Temple, built to the Honour of *Mercurius*, and the chief Mosque now in *Constantinople* was a Christian Church consecrated to *St. Sophia*.

THOSE who are but in the least acquainted with the History of the third, fourth and fifth Centuries, cannot be ignorant how often the Christian and Heathen Priests drove out one another by turns, according as the Religion of the one or the other prevail'd, sometimes with cruel Persecution, and sometimes with tollerable Moderation, according to the Temper of the Emperor or his Favourites, and must know that the Christian Clergy were as Intriguing as other Priests, nor less industrious to promote their Temporal Interest, and that as soon as it was in their Power, they encourag'd the building of Churches, some of them not inferiour to the most magnificent Pagan Temples, of which at last they kept for their own use, out of Prudence, those that had not been demolish'd out of Zeal.

FROM what I have hinted already we may see, that when the Name of the Church

understood but the Clergy alone, for the Laity has nothing to do there, but to obey. When indeed the Interest of the Church is mention'd, the Word is more Comprehensive, and takes in besides the Clergy, all those that are Well-wishers to their Temporal Welfare and Authority, whether they belong to the same Communion or not. So *Lewis* the XIVth has been look'd upon as the greatest Friend of the Church of *England* by many of her Clergy; several Popes have been in the Protestant Interest, and the grand *Turk* has more than once been Defender of the Faith of the Injured Churches in *Transylvania*.

FOR want of understanding these various acceptations of the Word Church, Men have often been guilty of Impiety, and laid that to the Charge of a Holy Religion, what has been altogether owing to Priest-Craft. The Church of Christ, as it signifies Religion, was propagated after a Miraculous manner, by Mean illiterate Men, who by Preaching up Meekness, Patience, Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, and an intire Resignation to the Will of God, gain'd multitudes of Souls without the assistance of the Secular Power, or any other Arms or Compulsion whatever: Men who recommended every where Peace, Union, and

and Charity, and despising all worldly Interest, ventur'd and laid down their Lives for the Welfare of others.

**B**UT the Church of Christ, as it signifies the extent of Jurisdiction, the Temporal Interest and Authority of the Clergy that profess Christianity, has been propagated by quite contrary means. They differ'd and quarrel'd together in the First Century, persecuted one another in the Second; and as soon as it was in their Power, and they had insinuated themselves in the favour of Princes, they made use of Worldly Honour and Riches, and other Artifices to draw Men to the Church; whilst those, who refus'd to be of their Opinion, were with the help of the Government compell'd to it by main force without any Miracle at all.

**I**F the Word Church always signify'd, or but imply'd Religion, the most profligate Wretches could never be the greatest sticklers for it; yet this we may observe in almost every Nation. Some content themselves with Swearing, Drinking, and telling Lies for the Church; but others more Zealous perjure themselves, raise Rebellion, Murder their Princes, betray, burn, and destroy their Country for the sake of it.

To account for this odd turn of the Mind in Human Creatures, I must desire my Reader to look back on what has been said, *Page 18 and 19.* As none hardly of the Multitude are so Ignorant, or so wicked as not to have a notion of Virtue and Vice, Heaven and Hell, at least a confus'd one, so at one time or other they are troubled with Remorses, they have Dreads and Perplexities, which are the Reason that many of them when they find themselves wholly swallow'd up in Sensuality, and utterly incapable of performing any kind of Religious Duties, seeking Relief like drowning Men, take hold of a Straw, and are so stupid, as to imagin that to have an Affection for the Church, the Edifice it self, or the Name of it, the habit of a Clergy-Man, or any thing still more remote from, and yet in their Opinion belonging to Religion, will make some attonement for all their Transgressions. It comforts them in their Anxiety, and makes them easy, and it is this, that often makes the most abandon'd in a Nation so Zealous for the Church, without ever going into it. For, whoever rightly considers the force of this Superstitious awe, and adds to it the Reason I mention'd in the beginning of this Chapter, will easily perceive, that both join'd  
together

together must in all multitudes render the Esteem, the Veneration, and the fondness for the Church as excessive, as without that Consideration it is unaccountable.

Those, who dissent from the National Church, or rather refuse to comply with the Rites and Ceremonies of it, are by their Teachers continually set against it; they are told of all the Abuses of it, which none can be without; and from their Infancy generally they are encourag'd to despise, and in time, according as their Anti-zeal is work'd to a Pitch, perhaps brought mortally to hate it. The Conscientiousness of this Aversion to the Church has the same effect upon the Minds of many, that the affection for it has upon others; but notwithstanding this hatred and contempt some may artfully be inspired with against the Church, the Vulgar are never better pleased than when they are possessed of the National Churches. In all Countries, where there are Religious Quarrels, those who hated the very name, whilst they were kept out of them, are soon reconcil'd to them, if upon any turn in the Publick Worship they get the better of their Adversaries. There is a kind of Magick in a fine Church, that bewitches the Mob: They look upon it as a Rampart against Hell and the Devil: They re-



ly upon it at all Events, and seem to imagine, that their Veneration for it, and consequently their hatred to them that speak against it, is an Absolution from Sin, and a security to be wicked with impunity.

THAT I have dwell'd so long on this head ought to seem excusable to all, who consider, that this frailty of the Vulgar has been the solid foundation, on which have been built all the Splendor and Temporal Authority, not only of the Pagan Churches, but likewise the Mahometan and that of *Rome*. The next to be admired are the unconceivable Industry, and Heroism of the Christian Clergy, who from the most barren Soil have made the fatteff Land in the World: One cannot reflect without amazement on the inexhaustible Treasure actually in possession of, and the boundless Power in Temporals, claim'd by the Successors of the Apostles; and yet nothing in Nature can seem less capable of yeilding such a Product than the Gospel. To illustrate what I mean by the Heroism of the Clergy, I shall give some few Instances of it from the Multitude which History abounds with.

'T is a difficult Task to controul great Men and Favourites of Princes, and always

ways hazardous to rebuke the Mighty: Yet the daring St. *Ambrose* \* opposed the Emperor himself. As *Theodosius* was coming to Church at *Milan*, that gallant Bishop stopt him, and made him do Penance with all humility, before he would suffer him to enter into it. To conceive rightly the Danger, and consequently the Bravery of this Action, we ought to know, that such another Attempt had been made once before at *Antioch* by St. *Babylas* † with very ill success. St. *Chrysostom*, tho' he was mistaken in the Name † of the Emperor, and the Crime laid to his Charge, has more than once display'd his usual Eloquence in the praise of that Martyr.

THE Characteristicks of Christianity have abundantly testify'd the Divinity of our Religion; and Obedience to Superiors, and the Civil Magistrate, with a peaceful Disposition and Charity to all Men, so much recommended by the Gospel, have ever been the surest means to propagate it; but the early Zeal of Churchmen has often look'd upon them as slow ones; and their Power has been rais'd  
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\* *Eras. Epist. 3 lib. 28. & Epist. 69 lib. 29.*

† *Euseb. hist. eccles. l. 6. c. 34.*

‡ *St. Chrysostom Homily on St. Babylas, item contra Gentiles, & alius in locis.*

by more active Virtues than Patience under Persecution, and Constancy in Death. Christians have often been the Aggressor, even when they were Strangers and lived upon Sufferance. In the time of *Theodosius Junior*, they enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conscience in *Persia*, when \* *Abdas*, a Zealous Bishop, had the Courage to pull down one of the Temples where the *Persians* worshipp'd the Fire. The Magi made their Complaints to the King, who sent for *Abdas*, and demanded no other Satisfaction than the rebuilding of the Temple: † *Abdas* refus'd it with Scorn, tho' that Prince had declared to him, that in Case of Disobedience he would cause all the Christian Churches to be pull'd down; which he did, and was attended with a terrible Persecution, in which the Valiant *Abdas* fell the first Martyr.

THE brave remainder of the Faithful, that could escape the fury of the *Persian* Priests were not so dejected at their Loss, but that, animated with the hopes of a noble Revenge, they implored the Assistance of the Emperor; which kindling a long War || between the *Romans* and *Persians*,

\* Theodor. Hist. eccles. lib. 5. c. 39.

† Idem. & Socrat. hist. Eccles.

|| Socrat. hist. Eccles. lib. 7. c. 18.

*Persians*, occasion'd a Second deluge of Blood in Vindication of the Gospel.

FROM these and other Examples it is evident, that the Church has shewn no less fortitude in attacking her Enemies, and redressing Misfortunes, than she has neglected to improve her Successes. It is this restless application, by which she is arrived to that height of Worldly Glory and Sovereignty. To put a Crown on the Head of a kneeling Prince, and immediately with a Foot to kick it down again, may be censur'd in a Bishop as an action on such Solemnities more Familiar than Polite; but it is an expressive Emblem of Supremacy, which nothing but treading on the Necks of Princes could exceed. Such Ensigns of Superlative Grandeur every body knows the Roman Pontiffs have display'd and hundreds more; yet, what is most Wonderful, all the Temporals, the Successors of *St. Peter* are possess'd of, have been obstinately disputed, and Inch by Inch got from the Laity: Not excepting what they lay claim to by virtue of the Donation of *Constantine*, which has been ridicul'd even by *Italian Poets*.

NOTHING is more diverting than to read the Various and Noble Struggles the *Popes* have had with the Princes of *Christi-*

stendom, till *Gregory* the Seventh, with the utmost intrepidity, and equal hazard and difficulties, establish'd his Superiority over their Temporalities: That able and stately Prelate, who in the midst of Winter made an Emperor \* barefoot wait † unattended in a Hall fasting from Morning till Night, for Three Days together, before he would admit him to his Presence; † and was the first, who undertook to deprive his Lord and Master of the Imperial Dignity. There is hardly an Emperor to be named, who has oppos'd the Pope and has not been a Sufferer at last; and it is incredible what Indignities some Princes have endured from them. The most Valiant, the Craftiest, and the most Resolute, have been overmatch'd by them. *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, as great as he was, was forc'd to submit to the Chastisement, \* which whilst the 5th Psalm was singing, *Clement* the Eighth, from his Throne, indicted by the stroke of a Switch at each Verse, on the Persons of his Proxies, as they lay kneeling and bending down their Heads before him. The same Ceremony,

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\* *Henry* the Fourth.

† *Maimbourg*, decalence de l'Empire, l. 2.

† Some add, That he waited with Sellers, and a Broom in his Hands, as submitting to be born and whip'd; de Plein mystère d'iniquité.

\* *Botero's* Commentar.

\* It is said, was repeated more privately between the Legate and his Majesty's Person.

WHEN the Lustre of a Church is once Establish'd, the Homage, which is reckon'd her due, ceases not to be paid to her even in Adversity. *Leo* the Tenth before his Pontificate, when he was Legate to *Julius* the Second, was in the Army that was beaten by the *French* at *Ravenna*. Whilst he was a Prisoner, Cardinal *Palavicini* tells us, † the Conquering Soldiers express'd so great a Veneration for him, that they humbly begg'd Pardon for their Victory, beseech'd him to give them Absolution, and promis'd never more to bear Arms against the Pope. This brings to mind another, but more noble example of the vast Respect and Submissive awe, which the very sight of a Prelate and his Pontifical Ornaments have drawn, not from the Children of the Church, but *Barbarians*, cruel Persecutors, and her greatest Enemies.

*ATTILA* having \* reduc'd *Aquileia* almost to Ashes, rayaged from thence all upon his march, even to *Pavia* and *Milan*,

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and

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† D' Aubigné.

‡ Palavic. Istoria del concilio di Trente.

\* Maimbourg decadence de l' Empire.

and now he had made himself Master of those two great Cities, and treated them, as he had done the rest, laying them both in Rubbish: So many dismal Messages arriving upon the back of one another at *Rome* caus'd a great Consternation. The Senate was assembled to deliberate, whether the Emperor should quit *Italy*; for to defend *Rome* against that innumerable multitude of *Barbarians* seem'd utterly impossible. Nothing at last was thought more adviseable, than to send an honorable Embassy to *Attila*, with the Pope at the head of it.

ACCORDINGLY *Leo* the First undauntedly went out in Solemn Pomp to meet him. The *Goth* was struck with the appearance, obey'd the Priest, and retir'd instantly with his whole Army in a Panick fear. *Attila* was afterwards ashamed of his Weakness, which to Palliate he had invention enough, or others for him, to make a Miraculous Story of it: Alleging, that, during the time *Leo* spoke, he saw a Venerable Old Man stand by his side, who holding a naked Sword in his Hand threaten'd to kill him, unless he granted all the Pope desired. A pitiful Excuse for a Conqueror at the head of his Army! The dreadful *Attila*, the Scourge of God, the Enemy to Mankind, whose

whose sight alone struck Terror in the most Undaunted, and whose very name made all the Earth to tremble.

In the next Chapter I shall endeavour to prove, that the Policies and worldly Wisdom of the Clergy have been employ'd as successfully for the Temporal Advancement of the Church, as their Heroism; and with all these Helps the raising of the Church to what it is from such a Beginning ought still to be look'd upon as the greatest Atchievement, that Human Strength has to boast of.

**T**HE *PAGANS*, whose Religion was built upon Poetry and Fiction, had a wretched Theology, that might be turn'd to any purpose, and the Priests in their Contrivances had no Morals to Cope with. In Mahometism there is more Morality, and the Notions of the Deity are better; both which it is in all probability beholding for to the Gospel: But then the whole Religion seems contriv'd to engage the sensual and Voluptuous: In the Alcoran itself many Things are ludicrous and silly, and in several places there is left room for Additions. But in the Christian Religion all is grave and solid; every part of it is worthy of the most serious Contemplation of a Man, that can and dares think freely



and thoroughly. The Idea it furnishes us with of the Godhead is sublime, and as incomprehensible as it should be. In the Doctrine of Christ there are no worldly allurements to draw the Vicious, and all his Followers are ty'd down to the strictest Morality: The whole aim of the Gospel is Divine, nothing can be construed from it to encourage Priestcraft, or be serviceable to sooth any human Passion, without doing the utmost Violence to Truth and good Sense; and yet behold, what has been made of it!

WHEN we consider, that the Holy Founder of our Religion commanded Frugality, embraced Poverty, disclaim'd as well as contemn'd Riches and Earthly Dominion, and told all Mankind in express Words, that his Kingdom was not of this World. When we consider this, I say, is it easily understood, which way, and on what foot those, who dare call themselves his Vicars, should have made themselves in the face of the Sun Temporal Princes, who live Magnificently and Luxuriously, and pretend by their Function to be invest'd not only with Holiness and absolute Knowledge, (which they may say came by Inheritance) but what the Apostles never thought of, an unlimited Jurisdiction, and general

general Mastership over all Things under Heaven? They also suppose themselves the Fountain of Worldly Honour, and bestow Titles on Sovereigns, or take them away at Pleasure. That of Most Christian King \* *Julius* the Second, is said to have once been deliberating to deprive *Lewis* the Twelfth of, and transferr'd it on our King *Henry* the Eighth.

**T**HE Roman † *Pontiff*, says *Allatius*, one of the Library-keepers of the Vatican, holds of, no body, he judges every body, and is judged by none; Obedience is to be paid to him altho' he governs unjustly; he gives Laws without receiving any, he alters them as he pleases; he creates Magistrates, determines Matters of Faith; he orders the great Affairs of the Church as he pleases; he cannot err if he would, for no Infidelity nor Illusion can come near him, and if an Angel should say otherwise, being stor'd as he is with the Authority of **JESUS CHRIST**, he cannot change.

**W**HAT an extrayagant Power is this in human Creatures! Yet it is demonstrable

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\* Guicciardin, lib. 11.

† *Allatius de perpetua Consensione lib. 1. cap. 2.*

strable, that nothing is more Adventitious, and altogether owing to fruitful Invention, than the Infallibility of the Pope. By Testament the Clergy cannot have it from the Apostles, who own'd, that they had Doubts themselves; nor will any Men imagine, that they have derived it from the Scriptures; When a Cardinal \* writes in Defence † of a Controvertist, who asserted, *That, was it not for the Authority of the Church, he would pay no greater Regard to the Bible, than he has for Æsop's Fables*; so that in the Opinion of this Clergy-man the Scriptures receive all their Sanction from the Church, and therefore not the Church from the Scriptures. This I think is Reasoning Consequentially, though at first View there may seem to be less Weight than Subtily in the Thought.

BUT be this as it will, there is no Protestant that will not concur with me in what I have said, that may be displeasing to the Church, if I only mean that of *Rome*; but he'll be very angry, and perhaps endeavour to have me punished by the Law, should I apply any part of it to the Church he belongs to, and which he believes to be that of CHRIST; It would be much the same

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\* Cardinal Hosius.

† Hosius, lib. 3. in prolegom. Brentii.

same, whether I did it in *England*, in *Holland*, or in *Sweden*, and it is not more surprising to see how vastly Protestants differ from one another, than it is to observe, how unanimously they agree in one thing with the Church, they sprung from, which is, that, to vindicate the Religion they profess, besides their Proofs from Scripture and the Abilities of their Divines, all desire to have the Assistance of the Secular Power, and there is no Sect of Protestants, where their Opinion is uppermost, that is not as willing to make use of it on all Occasions as the Papists themselves.

IN the Religious Disputes in *Holland*, it has been practised long ago: The *Gomarians* incited the Princes of *Orange* against the *Arminians*, and made use of the Civil Power at the Synod of *Dort*, with little Appearance of Moderation. Other Synods afterwards have been very zealous in setting the States against the *Socinians*, several of their Books have been burnt, and their Authors banish'd.

In the Time of *Edward the Sixth* *Lasius* and *Micronius* † were Ministers of the *Dutch*.

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† Samuel Andreas, Professor of Divinity at Marburg, relates this in his *Epistola Gratulatoria & Apologetica, against the Dania Orthodoxa fidelis & pacifica of Masius, Divinity Professor at Copenhagen.*

*Dutch Church at London*; being forc'd up on that King's Death to leave *England*, they endeavour'd to establish themselves and their Flock in *Denmark*, but the Lutherans oppos'd it, and alledging, that their Doctrine stood condemn'd by the Confession of *Augsburg*, forc'd them to retire out of the Kingdom in the midst of Winter. *Micronius* some time after at *Hamburg* conferr'd with one *Westphalus*, a *Danish* Divine, who immediately urg'd the Consent of the *Saxon Churches* as an invincible Argument against the Calvinists. *Micronius* answer'd, That if the Truth of Opinions was to be determin'd by the Consent of Churches the Papal Cause would be triumphant. *Westphalus* reply'd, that the *Saxon Churches* were the Church of God; and when the other urg'd that the Church was not confin'd to any Place, and that there was no Church but what might possibly err, as was allow'd by *Luther*, he reply'd, That the Import of *Luther's* words was not that the Church of *JESUS CHRIST* could be mistaken, but that the Popish Church might. *Micronius* forgot not to tell him, that the Holy Scripture is the sole Rule of Faith; and insisting upon this continually, he was plainly answer'd, It follows from your Arguments, that his *Danish* Majesty and the Senate of our City, who have decreed against you, should be guilty

guilty of a great Fault ; Consider that you  
are condemn'd by A. DRET of *Augsburg*.

It is plain what *Westphalus* would infinu-  
ate, and this we shall find throughout the  
World, that the National Clergy in all  
Countries endeavour to render it a Crime  
against the State to speak or believe, how  
remote soever it be from it, what clashes  
with their System, and they cannot answer  
themselves. The Argument by which all  
Churches in Power prove their Divinity,  
when they appeal to the Sences, have a near  
Resemblance together.

THE Heathens in the beginning of Chri-  
stianity boasted of the Antiquity of their  
Religion, the vast Extent of it, the Victo-  
ries that had been gain'd by the Assistance of  
their Gods, and the Miracles that had been  
wrought for them : These they laid were  
things visible, and from so many Excellen-  
cies, in which none came near them, they  
maintain'd that theirs was the true Reli-  
gion. The Church of new *Rome* after Fif-  
teen Hundred Years standing, has often  
made use of the same Proofs ever since the  
Reformation, but not always with so much  
Justice, as the *Pagans*, in Appearance. For  
as to Victories, it is but an Hundred Years  
ago, that on a fair Account the Balance  
would have been on the Side of the *Ma-*  
*hometans*

*Mohometans*: and as to Extent of Dominion, the Christians are exceeded by the same *Mohometans*, though both of them together, in this Article, cannot come up to the *Heathens*, even at this Day. For to divide the Globe in Thirty equal Parts, by the best Computation, Six are reckon'd to be *Christian*, Seven *Mohometan*, and all the rest *Pagan*.

WHICH Communion of the Protestants ought to be call'd the true Church of Christ, a Man may be sooner convinc'd of, within, than he can demonstrate it to an Adversary. But be the Religion of a Country what it will, it is always certain, that the greater the Authority of the Church is, the better the Clergy are pleas'd, and it fails as seldom, that, wherever it is excessive, the Laity are Slaves, and the Government Precarious, unless it be in the Hands of the Clergy themselves. Of this the State of the Church in *Italy* is a flagrant instance; for throughout the Patrimony of *St. Peter* the Priests are absolute Masters, and have all the fat of the Land. The Churches are Magnificent and croud'd with Treasure, but the Laity are Poor, and the common People, in Houses and Furniture, Diet and Cloaths, and all the other valuable comforts of Life, the most miserable

able in Christendom, in the most happy Soil and Climate upon Earth.

**DURING** the happiness of the *Jews*, before they had Kings, **GOD** rul'd over them immediately without Vicegerents; or else these are the Fruits of a Hierarchy, which all Governments must degenerate into, where the State, unmindful of its own Safety, takes not a sufficient care to guard it self both against the sly and bold encroachments of the Church, and either wants Strength, Skill, or Resolution, so keep the Clergy of all sorts in due bounds of Obedience.

**THOSE**, who consult History, or will but read *Herodotus*, or *Diodorus Siculus*, will be convinc'd, that I do not deceive my Reader: They will find that the *Agyptian* Priesthood being in ancient times the most numerous in the Universe, had a Third \* part of the Country in Possession, and at last arrived to such a height, as in a manner to have swallow'd up the State. That the Magi in *Perſa* have actually chang'd the Crown into a Mitre † and had once a fair chance for the Universal Sway of the World. In the wide *Aethiopian* Empire

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\* *Diod. Sic. lib. 1.*

† *Herodot. lib. 3.*



pire likewise they'll find, that the Authority of the landed Hierarchy has been so exorbitant, that the Priests usurp'd an Arbitrary Power over the Lives of all the Laity, their || Kings not excepted.

DOMINION ever follows Property: Thus it has been; thus it will be: Manners and Customs may change, but Human Nature is much the same in all Ages; and I defy the most Learned Champion of the Clergy, to produce from *Adam*, to this Day, one single instance, of a Nation of Note, where the Clergy had the Deference paid to them, which the generality of them desire, and were suffer'd as much to aggrandize themselves as they pretended their Religion required, for Fifty Years together, which upon due examination will not be found to have been enslav'd by the Church before half that time was expired. On this Head there is no difference between Protestants and Papists: Rigid Geneva it self affords us a remarkable Instance, \* wherein a Dispute between the Church and State, with warmth and obstinacy pursued on both sides, the Clergy got the better of the Government in a point

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||, Diod. Sic. lib. 3.

\* See the Tenth Chapter toward the latter end.

of Authority, and the Magistrate was forc'd to yeild, at the very beginning of the Reformation.

AMONGST those Communions of Protestants, that never yet had any Government, or National Society of their Sentiments, the Teachers in general, I know, loudly exclaim against the Pomp and Temporal Authority of the Clergy: As many of them are Men of Worth and Probity, so I doubt not, but their Intentions may be Honest: But I must desire such well designing Leaders not to boast too much of their Maiden Humility, before they have been tried. A Woman may be conscious to her self, that she is Chaste, tho' she never was ask'd to be otherwise; but she can claim no merit in having kept her Virginity, if it never was in her choice to part with it.

WHAT Sect or Persuasion of Christians has a better Gospel to Preach, or a more disinterested, and well meaning Principle to walk by, than what the Church of Rome had her Origin from? Wealth and Power are tempting, they are Snares to all manner of Virtues, and the sincerest Man alive cannot warrant for himself, or promise before hand, what his behaviour will be, when his Circumstances shall cease to be the same.



## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the Politicks of the CHURCH.*



**T**HE Immortality of the Soul, tho' it had been solidly asserted by *Plato*, and treated of by divers Philosophers before him; yet it remain'd a disputable point among Men of the greatest penetration many Years after: But whatever Sentiments Men entertain'd of the Soul's continuance after Death, the Notions they had of another Life were either very confus'd, or very mean and fabulous before the Light of the Gospel appear'd, and **CHRIST** was the first, who plainly taught Men, that this World would be destroy'd and succeeded by another, where, according as their behaviour was in this Life, they would be punish'd or rewarded for ever. If we consider

consider on the one hand the vast disproportion between the momentary duration of this Life, and Eternity, and on the other that the Joys of Heaven prepar'd for the Just and the Torments of Hell to be endured by the Wicked, shall both be so exquisite, as to exceed all Imagination; in all which our Saviour likewise has fully instructed us; if we consider, I say, these Things, we shall find, that no Argument could be invented more cogent, to make Men of sound Reason to bear for so short a space with any Sufferings, that might be serviceable to attain such a Bliss, and reject all Pleasures, that might lead to such Miseries.

THE natural Consequence, that ought to be expected from such a Doctrine is, what the Gospel exacts from us, the strictest Morality with an absolute resignation to the Will of God; yet it has been made subservient to every bad purpose, and all manner of Wickedness: When once Men were thoroughly persuaded of Rewards and Punishments in the World to come, the Clergy left no Stone unturn'd, to make them believe likewise, that the Priests, as being the Favourites of God, were the sole Interpreters, as well as Keepers of the Sacred Oracles, and every Man's Cause would be managed

in Heaven, according as they should accuse or intercede for them. If this they could compass, they knew very well, that the mastery over every Man's Liberty as well as Purse could not be disputed by them. Would sensual Men, who bestow so much on their Pleasures not pay for the enjoyment of them with impunity, or the Rich leave any Passion ungratify'd, if they firmly believed, that Money, tho' not parted with till after Death, would atone for their Sins ?

How shamefully the Church of *Rome* has play'd upon the Superstition of the Laity, and how little care at last they took to cover their Avarice, is amazing. In the Pontificate of *Leo* the Tenth, the ordinary Revenues not being sufficient to feed the Luxury of his Court and enrich his Sister likewise, great Sums were raised by farming out Indulgences, and other Branches of the Sacred Funds, which made those, who had advanced the Money, set them off in such vast quantities, that in many Places in *Germany*, says \* *Guicciardin*, the Powers to release Souls from Purgatory were play'd for in Taverns and Eating Houses. But as Improvements are made in all Crafts, the Mahometans have out done the *Roman* Priests

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\* *Guicciard. lib. 3.*

Priests in the way of Insurance, if it be true what I have read, that the Prince of *Bassora* sells Places in Paradise, which in Goodness shall answer what Price their Faithful are pleas'd to bestow; and at the payment of the Money, signs Policies for them, that give great content.

I shall say nothing of the sham Miracles, and Prodiges, Voices pretended to come from Heaven, Saints and Devils personated by Friars, Letters sent from the Virgin *Mary* her self; the counterfeiting of Relicks; and the impudent multiplication of them; of all which so many Instances now are known, that would have remained Secrets if Priests had never fallen out. I shall omit likewise the Artifices used in Exorcisms, Murders committed, and other Villainous Pranks, that have been play'd between Monks of different Orders, to spoil one anothers Trade. The Tricks and Stratagems of Clerick Invention have been as vile as they are Innumerable, and I care not to rake in that *Augean* Stable: No *Herculean* Labour will be ever able to clear it; because the Forgeries of Priests, when once received for Truths, are almost Importal. They are Monsters of Stink and Darkness, that may grow sick at the appearance of Light, and faint away at the scent of Knowledge, but seldom Die,

whilst they have a Relation left to take care of them.

**ST. AMABLE**, who lived in the Fifth Century, is the Patron of *Riom*, a City in *Auvergne*: It is reported of him, that going to *Rome* on Foot, the Sun waited on him as a Servant, and carried his Cloak and his Gloves in the Air like an Umbrella, during the great heat, and kept off the Rain from him in bad Weather. The wiser sort of Roman Catholicks have long ago rejected this as a Fable: Yet the Tradition is accounted so certain in that Country, that they seldom draw *St. Amable's* Picture, without his Gloves and his Cloak, being supported in the Air by a Sun-beam. How great an affront this Story may seem to put on Humane Understanding, yet it was once swallow'd as a Fact, and who ever would reflect on the Wit of the Age, it was believ'd in, I desire he would not forget the Modesty of those, who imposed it upon the People.

It is the common Opinion, that the Wars and Devastations, occasion'd by the frequent Irruptions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, introduced Barbarism into *Italy*, and were the only cause of that profound Ignorance, that so universally overspread the Empire for several Ages: But this is wrong-  
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ing the Clergy, who thoroughly understanding their Interest assisted the growth of it with so much application: Nothing was more obnoxious to all their Enterprizes, than the Pagan Philosophers as well as Historians, and the good Sense contain'd in their Works. Knowledge is the base of Priest Craft; which made some Prelates, as soon as it was in their Power, behave themselves against all Human Literature, and every thing belonging to Arts and Sciences, with an uncommon rage. They burnt some of the best Books, destroy'd Pictures of inestimable value, broke, mutilated, and defaced the finest Pieces of Sculpture, and made away with, or buried under Ground, the noblest Remains of Antiquity; and once all the Writings that were not the Product of Christian Authors are said to have been in danger of being committed to the Flames by one \* of the greatest Saints of the Church, I mean Gregory the First, surnamed *the Great*; whose inveteracy against Learning and Paganism was so excessive, that he not only was angry with an Archbishop † of *Vienna*, for suffering Grammar to be taught in his Diocess, but studied to write bad

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Latin

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\* Vita D. Georg. ex Joanne Laziardo Cœlestin.

† Maimbourg Histoire du Pontificat de Saint Gregoire.



Latin himself, and in one of his Letters boasted, that he scorn'd to conform to the Rule of Grammar, not in any thing to resemble a Heathen.

IN pursuance of this refin'd Policy, the Clergy has refus'd to recede an Inch from what had been gain'd on the Credulity of the Laymen; and whoever attempted to undeceive the People, was always looked upon as a false Brother, and render'd odious to the World. Whoever imagines from what he has read last, that I endeavour to make Allusions to latter Times, knows not my Aim; for to point at particular Persons is what I would avoid the most: I despise the very Thoughts of a Party Man, and desire to touch no Man's Sore, but in order to heal it. What I now charge the Clergy with in general, they have been guilty of before the middle of the fifth Century, and above Ten thousand times since.

BEFORE the Age I speak of, the then Orthodox Church had began to reap the Fruits from the Seed of Ignorance she cultivated with so much Care, and now among other Dealings made a vast Profit from her Traffick in Relicks and the Charity of Devotees, that came to visit the Shrines of the Dead. *Vigilantius*, a Spanish Priest thought

thought this an Abuse, as well as the Prayers for the Dead, and taught the People, what any of the Apostles would have justified, that no religious Honour was due to the Ashes of Saints and Martyrs.

How this was relish'd by the Church, we may guess from the extravagant Expressions, in which St. Jerom vented his Anger against him: In one place he calls him \*Samaritan, Jew, filthy Wretch, whose Tongue ought to be cut out, and a furious Monster, that ought to be bound. I know, says he in another, † what makes you write as you do. *It is the unclean Spirit, that dwells in you, who is tormented by, and therefore dreads to approach the Dust of those holy Sepulchres.*

ANOTHER Piece of Cleric Policy is their sticking close, and obstinately adhering to their Friends, whether good Men or bad. The Church is a bountiful and indulging Mother, that rewards well those, who really serve her, and connives at all Faults in her Children but Disobedience and want of Respect to her self. Whoever takes her Part need not fear her Anger;

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\* Hieronim. Epist. ad Riparium.

† Idem Epist. advers. vigilanc.

ger; and the greatest Profligate, if he'll promote her Temporal Interest, shall always command her good Word. What incense of Praise has been formerly, and is yet bestow'd on the first Christian Emperor, as had he been the best of Men, and yet it is manifest he was a wicked Prince. I would not rely on the Heathen \* Authors, who said, that *Constantine* finding no ways to expiate the execrable Murders he had been guilty of in the Pagan Religion; but finding some in the Christian, he forsook that of his Ancestors, and made himself a Christian. This we'll say was a false Accusation, but I can't help observing from it, that, whilst that Emperor was alive, and all the World was acquainted with his Actions, there could have been no room for this Calumny: had *Constantine* been a good Man.

*EUSEBIUS* wrote his Life, which is full of Encomiums upon him, but leaves † out, that he had put to Death his Wife *Fausla*, and his own Son *Crispas*, from no other Motive but Jealousy or Revenge. In his Chronicles indeed he relates it; but other Fathers again have strove to stifle those

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\* *Authors, whom Sozomen and Evagrius have*

those Facts, which every Body knew to be true. In refuting the Heathen Authors I spoke of before, *Evagrius* \* had the Courage plainly to deny them: *Sozomen* had more Caution; but being likewise unwilling to acknowledge them, he talks of something else, and only † proves, that *Crispus* and *Fausta* could not have been put to Death but many Years after *Constantine* had abjur'd the Pagan Religion.

**CARDINAL** *Baronius* justly blames the Writers of Ecclesiastical History, who have suppress'd, or endeavour'd to refute those Matters of Fact, and makes a heavy Bustle about it; which that the Reader may not wonder at in a Cardinal, especially such a High-flying one, I must acquaint him, that he did it not for nothing, and only expos'd the Nakedness of the Fathers, because he wanted it to support some Traditions which are favourable to the See of *Rome*. As the Fathers, who laid the Foundation of the Temporal Blessings of the Church prais'd their Benefactors, so the Sons have paid their Acknowledgements

\* *Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 41.*

† *Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 3.*

\* He makes use of it to confirm the Acts of Pope *Silvester*, and to prove, that *Constantine* was baptiz'd in *Rome*: by this Pope a little before the Celebration of the Council of *Nice*. See the Remark B. of the Article *Fausta* in *Bail's Dict.*

ments to the Fathers, and most of their Lives, that have been written by modern Divines, are rather Panegyricks than Histories. *Hannibal* had but one Eye, yet a flattering Limner painted him with both; This *Hannibal* dislik'd, but was very well pleas'd with another, who drew him in Profile, an ingenious way of hiding a Man's Blind-side without offending Truth. The generality of the Clergy stand not upon such Niceties, and scorn to be flinted in their Commendations; When they have a Favourite of the Church to paint, they'll draw him with two Eyes, though all the World knows he has none.

**GREGORY** the Great, as cruel a Persecutor as he was of Human Wit, used more Moderation in forcing Men to the Gospel, than was practis'd in those Days: He likewise made \* a great Reform in the Lives of the Clergy, whose Lewdness was excessive, punish'd their Incontinence with Rigour, and was very severe † against Calumny. He undertook the Conversion of this Kingdom, and happily effected it by the Monks he sent us under the Conduct of *Augustin* their Abbot. In the whole he

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\* Maimbourg histoire du Pontific. de S. Gregoire.

† Idem ubi supra.

is reckon'd to have been a Man of strict Morals, and one of the best of Popes. But how little Virtue or Piety are regarded, even by Clergymen of good Repute, when the Interest of the Church is concern'd, we shall learn from a shocking Instance in the Life of this great Pontiff.

THE Emperor *Maurice's* Army being revolted against him at the Instigation of *Phocas*, march'd towards *Constantinople*, and took it without any Difficulty. The Emperor \* was deliver'd to *Phocas*, who, by an unheard of Cruelty, caus'd five little Princes, *Maurice's* Children, to be murder'd in his Presence, before their Father's Eyes. The Nurse of the youngest had cunningly retriev'd him from the Massacre, and substituted her own in his Place; but *Maurice*, who perceiv'd it, caus'd his own Child to be return'd to the Executioners. *Phocas* no ways moved with so brave and generous an Action, which melted all the Assistants into Tears, commanded this little Innocent to be kill'd, and *Maurice* himself butcher'd upon the Bodies of his five Children.

THE eldest Son of the Emperor had a little before been sent into *Persia*, but being taken

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\* Idem.

taken at *Nicaa*, was put to Death, as were almost all the Friends and Relations of *Maurice*, and even the Empress *Constantina*, and her three Daughters, contrary to the Promise *Phocas* had made to the Patriarch *Cyracus*. There never was more Innocent Blood shed than in his Reign, nor a more infamous † Tyrant than *Phocas*; a deform'd Wretch, of a frightful Aspect, without Virtue, Birth, Honour, or Merit: He was a Drunkard, Lascivious, void of Humanity, and had all the ill Qualities that may be set in Opposition to those, which the Historians have extreamly \* praised in *Maurice*.

As soon as it was known at *Rome* what had happen'd at *Constantinople*, and this Monster was crown'd there, our holy Pope sent Congratulatory Letters † to *Phocas* and *Leontia* his Wife, wherein he rejoyc'd for his Accession to the Throne, as the greatest Advantage that could have happen'd to the Empire; speaking of the Ufurper in the most advantageous Terms, as of an admirable Prince, who would make it flourish again, and thank'd G O D, that the World being delivered from so hard and

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† Idem.

\* Ibidem.

‡ Dr Cave, Hist. liter. Scriptor. Eccles. ad ann. 603.

and uneasy a Yoke, began to enjoy the  
Sweets of Liberty under his Reign; with-  
out adding one Syllable to express the  
least Sorrow, that *Maurice* and his Chil-  
dren had suffer'd Death. The end of this  
base Flattery was, what excuses all Faults,  
the Interest of the Church. *Maurice* had  
declar'd for the Patriarch of *Constantinople*,  
in a Dispute concerning Superiority; the  
Pope over-joy'd to be deliver'd from an  
Emperor; who had favour'd the Patriarch  
of *Constantinople*, load'd this new Prince  
with Praises, to draw him over to his  
Side.

This excessive Complaisance of this  
same Saint to Queen *Brunchauld* of *France*,  
may serve as another Evidence of the  
Church's small Regard for Truth, and Ad-  
herence to her Friends with an Affection  
so unmoveable, that no Crimes nor Im-  
piety can shake it. This Queen, as most  
Historians say, was the most \* wicked  
Woman in the World, yet *St. Gregory* be-  
stow'd upon her all the Praises that can be  
given to the most perfect Princess, and  
scrupled not to say in a very affirmative  
† manner, that *France* was, of all Nations,  
the most happy, since they deserv'd such a  
Queen

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\* Maimbourg ubi supra.

† *Georg. lib. 11. epist. 3.*



Queen endu'd with all sorts of Virtues and good Qualities. What occasioned his Esteem for the worst of Women was, that *Brunehauld*, in the midst of her heinous Crimes, shew'd an extraordinary \* Magnificence towards Churchmen, and in her Foundations of Churches and Convents, not forgetting to make a devout Request for Relicks to the holy Father.

WHAT *Philip de Comines* says †, was answer'd to him in *Italy*, will not seem foreign to our purpose. In the *Carthusian* Monastery at *Pavia*, lies the Body of *John Galeazzo*, a great and wicked Tyrant: *Comines*, who went to see it, hearing one of the *Carthusians* that shew'd it him, call him Saint, whisper'd him in the Ear, and ask'd why he call'd him Saint, when he might see painted about him the Arms of many Towns he had usurp'd, and to which he had no Right? The other answer'd him softly, In this Country we call Saints all who are our Benefactors.

As the worst of Men, who would but promote or side with the Temporal Interest of the Church, have never fail'd of her highest Commendations; so the best have  
never

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\* Maimbourg hist. du Pontif. de S. Greg.

† *Phil. de Comin. Memoir. lib. 7.*

ner escap'd her Indignation and Resentment, when they either oppos'd that Interest, or found the least Fault with the Clergy, how justly or discreetly soever it is done. Of this there are as many Examples as there have been wise Princes, that are no Bigots to the Clergy, or else the Example alone would convince us of when we reflect on the furious Calumnies the Church of Rome, promiscuously attacking all Sects, has belch'd out against Protestants in general.

**T**HIS Policy the Church has made use of early: When Emperors were once become Christians, the Clergy receiv'd such Power and other worldly Comfort from their Authority, that they could not think of living without, and therefore lost all Alliance when *Julian* was advanc'd to the Throne. They did and said against him every thing that Rage and Hatred could invent, and never speak of him to this Day without the Surname of Apostate, to render him odious. *Julian* had been differently educated, as well at Pagan as at Christian Universities, and at one time he was a Heathen, and at another Christians his Tutors: But I never saw it prov'd, that he adher'd to Christianity at a time he might with safety have refus'd it. It must be confess'd, that as soon as he was Master

fter of his Choice, he made the worst, and unfortunately embrac'd Paganism, because it was the Religion of his Ancestors.

BUT let him be call'd Heathen or Apostate, or what the Clergy pleases, to judge of him impartially from History, we must own, that he was a virtuous and gallant Prince, endu'd with Wit and Humanity, and more Steadiness and Moderation than any of his Christian Predecessors. In his Letters he appears to have been a Father to his People, and one of them I will have leave to insert here, which will make us perfectly well acquainted with the tollerating Temper of that Prince, and at the same time point at the real Cause of the Clergy's Animosities against him.

### JULIAN to the Bostrens.

I Should have \* thought, indeed, that the Galilean Leaders would have esteem'd themselves more indebted to me than to him, who preceded me in the Administration of the Empire: For in his Time many of them suffer'd Exile, Persecution and Imprisonment.

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\* Julian's Epistles, N<sup>o</sup> 52.

*Multitudes of those, whom in their Religion they term Hereticks, were put to the Sword; insomuch, that in Samosata, Cyzicum, Paphlagonia, Bythia, Galatia, and many other Countries, whole Towns were level'd with the Earth. The just Reverse of this has been observ'd in my Time. The Exiles have been recall'd, and the Proscrib'd restor'd to the lawful Possessions of their Estates: But so that height of Fury and Distraction are this People arriv'd, that being no longer allow'd the Privilege to tyrannize over one another, or persecute either their own Sectaries, or the Religions of the lawful Church, they swell with Rage, and leave no Stone unturn'd, no Opportunity unemploy'd, of raising Tumult and Sedition. So little Regard have they to true Piety, so little Obedience to our Laws and Constitutions, however humane and tolerating. For still do we determine, and steadily resolve never to suffer one of them involuntarily to be drawn into our Altars. \*\*\* As for the more People indeed, they appear driven to these Riots and Seditions by those amongst them whom they call Clericks; who are now irritat'd to find themselves restrain'd in the Use of their former Power, and intemperate Rule. \*\*\* They can no longer act the Magistrate, or Civil Judge, nor assume Authority to make People's Wills, supplant Relations, possess themselves of other Mens Patrimonies, and, by specious Pretences, transfer all into their own Possessions.*

For this Reason, I have thought fit, by this Publick Ediſt, to forewarn the People of this ſort, that they raiſe no more Commotions; nor gather in a riotous Manner about their ſeditious Clericks, in Deſiance of the Magiſtrate, who has been insulted, and in danger of being ſton'd by theſe incited Rabbles. In their Congregations they may notwithstanding aſſemble as they pleaſe, and croud about their Leaders, performing Worſhip, receiving Doctrinè, and praying according as they are by them taught and conducted; but if with any tendency to Sedition, let them beware, how they hearken or give Aſſent; and remember 'tis at their Peril, if by theſe means they are ſecretly wrought up to Mutiny and Inſurrection. \*\*\* Live therefore in Peace and Quietneſs! Neither ſpitefully oppoſing or injuriously treating one another. You miſguided People of the new Way, beware on your ſide! And you of the ancient and eſtabliſh'd Church, injure not your Neighbours and fellow Citizens; who are Enthuſiaſtically led away in Ignorance and Miſtake, rather than with Deſign or Malice! 'Tis by Diſcourſe and Reaſon, not by Blows, Inſults or Violence, that Men are to be inform'd of Truth, and convinc'd of Error. Again therefore, and again I enjoyn and charge the zealous Followers of the true Religion no way to injure, moleſt or affront the Galilean People.

**T**HESSE were the Sentiments of this Emperor, whom the Clergy make such a Monster, and whose very Clemency they made a handle of for Slander; complaining, that by his Mildness and unlimited Tolleration he had done more Prejudice to the Church than others with Persecution. He was a Politick as well as Honest Prince, yet the Clergy proved too hard for him, and never ceas'd plotting against him, till at last, to the great Joy of the Orthodox, he was assassinated by one of his Christian Soldiers.

**B**UT if to this Treachery we should give the Name of Religious Zeal against a Pagan, what Excuse can the Church have for her violent Hatred against her very Pontiffs, whenever they have been Men of Pobity, and endeavour'd to curb the Licentiousness of the Clergy? *Hadrian* the Sixth was a Prelate of vast Learning and Parts, of unquestionable Morals, an exemplary Frugality, and in short, one of the best Popes that have fill'd the Chair in these latter Times. He was chose for his Virtue, and the Fame of his great Abilities, \* whilst he was absent, and wholly taken up with the Government

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Affairs

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\* Paul Jovius in vits Hadrian VI.

Affairs of *Spain*. As soon as he began to act he was lampoon'd and despis'd, and in a little time (it is thought) made away with. Since that, they have even reproach'd \* him with Stupidity, and want of Taste, for the plainness of his Dyer, and his Aversion to Luxury. Would you know the reason of this Anger and Invet-racy? He took Notice † of the wicked Lives of the Clergy, and would reform them. See here part of the Instructions this Pope gave his Nuncio to the Dyer of the Emperor, which was held at the beginning of the Reformation.

*You shall tell them, (says he) that we freely acknowledge, that GOD suffers this Persecution by the Lutherans, brought upon his Church for the Sins of Men, especially the Priests and Prelates of the Church. The Scriptures declare, that the Sins of the People are derived from the Sins of the Priest: For which reason, as St. Chryostom tells us, our Saviour, wilking to take Care of the infirm City of Jerusalem, went into the Temple to chesse the Sins of the Priests first, as a good Physician, who cures the Distemper from the Root. We know that, in this our Holy See for some Tears many Abominations have been committed*

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\* Christoph. Battus.

† Moring. in vita Hadrian. VI.

mitted; Abuses in Things spiritual, Excesses in Ordinances, and that every Thing has been altered for the worse; and it is no wonder that if the Disease from the Head fell upon the Members, from the Bishops to other inferior Prelates. All we Prelates, viz. Ecclesiasticks, have declin'd every one to his own Ways, and this great while there has not been any that has done well, not so much as one.

A Protestant Writer imagines, that the Cardinals so strongly resented this Pope's dishonouring of the Church of Rome, and his burning a Man for the Crime of Beastiality, that they \* shorten'd his

Now little Goodness itself, and the Essentials of Christianity are thought to be required in the Head of the Church, we may learn from those who pretend best to understand her Interest. Innocent XI. dreaded the exorbitant Power and Ambition of Lewis XIV. and opposed the Prosperity of France, as much as any Protestant Prince, which made that Nation very angry with him. Hear the Sally of one of them, who heard some Body praise the Piety and moral Severity of that Pope in the Year 1689. *The Greatness and Majesty,* said he,

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of

\* Novor. Episc. Belg. divisio.



of the Catholick Church, require a Head not endowed with the Virtues of a Priest, but with the Talents of a cunning Politician. They require a Head, who has the Courage to damn himself for the Good and Emcrease of his Dominions; that is the way to perform the Office of a good Shepherd, who gives his Life for his Sheep. A scrupulous and devout Pope, like good Adrian the VIth, is only fit to let the Temporals of the Church perish, which are so Advantageous for the Maintenance of the Spirituals. . . . !

THIS Frenchman was partial, or else he would have found, *Innocent* had no Piety that made him neglectful of his Interest, and consider'd, that the Court of Rome is no less concern'd than the others in maintaining a Ballance of Power in Christendom. And had that Pope assisted the *Turk* against *Germany*, he would have commended him for acting against the *Roman* Catholick Religion to maintain the Power of the *Roman* Catholick Church. *Sextus* the Vth, did the same against *Spain* in favour of *England* and *Holland*; and it is not improbable what *Leti* relates of him, \* that he kept a secret Correspondence with Queen *Elizabeth* to the Prejudice of the King of *Spain*, notwithstanding the Bulls of Excommunication

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\* Leti Monarchie universelle, tom. 2.

tion he thunder'd out against her. His Politicks were just; 'tis a less Disadvantage, to the Pope not to be acknowledg'd either in *Holland* or *England*, than if by such an Acknowledgment any Catholick Prince should be enabled to obtain all his Demands at *Rome*, either by fair or foul means.

THIS ought not to be look'd upon as Digression in a Man, who endeavours to demonstrate the Difference between Religion and the Church. I have shewn by it, that whoever will be but mindful of the one shall have the Clergy's leave to be as careless of the other as he pleases. The *Athenians* having been intent on nothing but Religion for some time, were bid to take care not to mind Heaven so much as to lose the Earth. I have often thought that this would be a needless Caution to the Clergy, who all make sure of their Power on Earth first, whatever becomes of their Interest in Heaven. Every Body does not know that good Popes are suppos'd to be wicked of Course, and that the Church itself has but a slender Opinion of their Salvation. Yet it is true, if you'll believe *Bellarmin*. *The Popes*, says he, *are so far from deserving to be cannoniz'd, that they can hardly keep themselves from Hell.*—if the Authority of a Cardinal be not sufficient,

I can back it with Infallibility from the Words of *Marcellus* the II. who one Day cried out at Table † *I do not see, how those, that are seated in St. Peter's Chair, can be saved.*

AMONG the Politicks of the Church, Pious Frauds ought not to be forgot. I speak not of the petty inventions of Monks, and little Priests to raise Devotion for their own ends; but substantial Calumnies rais'd by the Fathers with the greatest Air of Sincerity. The Pagans I have said before, had a wretch'd Theology; and no Man could have wish'd for a more inconsistent System to oppose, than their Religion; yet the Fathers were not contented without making it worse by false Accusations than it was.

THE Floral Games were celebrated after a scandalous manner with Odious obscenities: \* This is undeniable; but it is not true what *Lactantius* says, that they were instituted by a Curtezan, call'd *Flora*, who grown Rich by her Trade, left the Roman People her Heir, and order'd that the Revenue of a certain Fund, she specify'd, should

† *Onaphrius* in *Marcello* II. apud *Ancillon*.  
\* *Lactant. Divin. Instit. lib. cap. 20.*

should be employ'd to celebrate her Birth-Day; neither is it true, what he adds, that the Senate endeavour'd to hide from the Publick the Rise of so infamous a Custom; that accordingly, taking advantage of the Name of this Curtezan, they pretended that *Flora* was the Goddess of Flowers; and, that in order to have a good Harvest, it was necessary to honour that Goddess every Year, and to make her propitious.

In the first place the Worship of *Flora* was instituted in *Rome*, \* by *Tatius* and *Romulus*, his Collegue, and Divine Honours had been paid to this Goddess by the *Sabins* before the building of *Rome*. In the second, those Games were for a considerable time only celebrated as the intemperature of the Seasons requir'd it, or the Books of the *Sybils* enjoyn'd it, and not every Year, † before the Year of *Rome*, 580, and then, the irregularity of the Spring having prov'd very detrimental; a Decree was made to have them exhibited Yearly. From all which it is evident, that the Superstition of the Pagans to the Goddess of Flowers was no pretence but a reality. Lastly the Fund, \* to defray the Charges of

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\* Varro *lib. 4. de Lingua Lat.*

† Vossius de *Orig. Idolol. lib. 2. cap. 22.*

\* Vossius ubi supra.

of the Floral Games, was the Money accruing from the Fines of those, who had appropriated to themselves such Lands as belong'd to the Republick, and not any thing left by a Common Woman.

*VOSSIUS* and others have taken notice of this Slander, and the first cautions us not to adopt for Truth whatever the Fathers have writ against the Gentiles. A Man may relate a falshood by mistake without any intention to deceive. This is pardonable; but the Fathers did it often willfully, and what is worse boasted of, it, when they had done; as if either Strength or deceit, and every thing bad been said against a Heathen. *St. Jerom.* carried away by the Violence of this prejudice has not scrupled to tell us, † that the Fathers were oblig'd to say not what they thought, but every thing requisite to refute what the Heathens believ'd. He endeavours to vindicate them by *St. Paul's* Examples, but *Blondel* || has taken him up for it as he deserv'd. No such Conduct can be prov'd upon any of the Apostles,

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† *St. Hieron. Apolog. ad Pammachium pro libris adv. Jovinian.*

|| *Blondel de Sibylles lib. 1. cap. 26.*

ties, and Truth needs not the aid, nay scorns, the support of Falshood.

IT is a Vulgar Notion, that after the coming of Christ, or at least upon the Preaching of the Gospel, all the Pagan Oracles immediately ceas'd; What Father or Priest was the Author of it I know not. But it is manifest, that in the Reign of *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantine the Great*, the Oracle of the God *Besa*, subsisted still at *Abydus*, a City of *Egypt*, famous upon many accounts. The Evidence to prove this is remarkable. The Emperor then on the Throne, was \* a Suspicious, Credulous Prince, of a mean Genius, and being inform'd that divers People went to Consult this † Oracle concerning his Life, and the Name of the Person, who should succeed him, he was in a great rage, and dispatch'd away a Commission presently to try the Guilty, which caus'd many disorders, and made greater Noise.

THAT there were other Oracles besides, remaining long after the first planting of Christianity, we may learn from *Pausanias*,

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\* Ammian. Marcell. ad ann. 359.

† Idem *ibid.*

*Pausanias*, || who affirms, that in his time there was no Oracle so true as that of *Amphilochus*, which was at *Mallus* in *Cilicia*; from which it is to be suppos'd that there were several others. *Plutarch* likewise tells us, That \* this Oracle of *Amphilochus* was famous and flourish'd in his Days.

As I have reason to fear more severe Censures than others, so I must take precautions, which otherwise would be needless; when I speak of Oracles remaining after the coming of Christ, I have no design to vindicate them, I mean only, that they subsisted, as they had done before, by the Juggle and Artifice of the Priests who had the profit of them: And it is my real Sentiment, that they would not have ceas'd to this Day, if People had not ceas'd to believe in them. I know it is the Opinion of many, that the Devil, whom his Advocates will have to understand Futurity, was at the bottom of all these Oracles: But I confess, I do not think he was concern'd in them any further, than we make him in our Indictments of Felons. None can work Miracles but  
 GOD,

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|| *Pausan. lib. 1.*

\* *Plutarch de sera numinis vindicta.*

**GOD**, and those to whom he immediately delegates his Power; and that this Power ever was employ'd in favour of Idolatry, tho' a worthy Divine of our Church seems to insinuate it, I believe not.

WHAT I mean is this, *Brutus* \* with an Army of *Gauls* was in full march to Sack and Pillage the rich Temple of *Delphos*. But by the way such a violent Tempest arose of Thunder and Lightning, as confum'd him and all his Sacrilegious Host. The Heathens, as Men of all other Religions would have done, had the case been their own, cried out, A Miracle! The Christians, not being able to deny the Fact, laid it upon the Old Pack-Horse, the Devil. But Dr. *Prideaux*, who willing to attribute so great a Power to the Infernal Fiend, is of opinion, that it really was a Miracle, and that **GOD** wrought it for the sake of Religion in general.

HERE we differ: For tho' I am of the Dean's Opinion, that *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, or any other of the Heathen Gods, empty sounds, things without existence, could not raise this Storm; yet the more I think

\* *Justin. Hist. lib. 24.*

† *D. Prideaux's Connexions of the Old and New Test.*



think on the great Indignation, which the Jealous GOD on all occasions expresses against Idolatry, the less I can think, that he would have wrought a Miracle to save this Temple. I would rather say, that this Tempest had been an accident, which all hot Countries are subject to, than ascribe a conduct to GOD, which on several accounts is so unworthy the Idea I have of him. For the Sense of the Words must come to this. If *Brennus* Robs and Destroys this Temple of *Delphos* with impunity, it may encourage others one Day or other to attempt the same upon mine; and therefore I'll punish all Sacrilege, that my own may be the more safe. But if the words, *that GOD did it for the sake of Religion in general* do not include this Thought, I trow that I do not understand their meaning; and heartily beg that Learned Man's pardon, if he takes offence at any thing I have said; as to my self I am sure I design none, and am oblig'd to him for his Elaborate Works.

THE Mahometans have not been used much better than the Heathens. Mahomet was an Impostor, and none have publish'd more incredible things about him than his Followers. But neither is all true, what Christians have father'd upon them, nothing is more generally believed, than

than that to counterfeit a Miracle, the Body of *Mahomet* is suspended in an Iron Coffin by virtue of Loadstones, artfully plac'd at *Mecca*. Yet his Sepulchre never was at *Mecca*, but his Body was buried at *Medina*, \* where it remains to this Day, without an Iron Coffin, and without any Loadstones; and the ablest Naturalists affirm †, that such a Suspension in the Air by Loadstones surpasses all human Skill. The Story likewise of the Pigeon that used to come to this False Prophet's Ears has likewise been reported with great Confidence, and some famous || Writers assure us, that the *Musselmans* make mention of this Dove, yet if we believe *Dr. Pocock* none ‡ of the *Arabick* Writers say any thing of it. Other things more ridiculous have been told us, concerning the Credulity of the *Mahometans* which they never heard of but from us:

THAT the Spirit of Insincerity, which has haunted the Church so many Ages ago, has not been expell'd, or altogether laid, by the Reformation, will be shewn in several Places of the ensuing Chapter :

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\* *Dr. Prideaux in the Life of Mahomet.*

† *See Bernier's Abridgment of the Philosophy of Cassendus.*

|| *Gabriel Sionita & Johan. Hefronita in tractatu de novæ nullis Orientalum Urbibus.*

‡ *Dr. Pocock Specim. Histor. Arabum.*

But that those who have no mind to read any more of them than what now they have almost finish'd, may not go away dissatisfied, I shall give them an Instance before we part. The Protestants have long diverted themselves with the Story of Pope *Joan*, and several Roman Catholicks have, for want of better Enquiry, been forc'd to yield them this Point, till at last *Blondel*, a *French Hugonot*, made it evident \* that it was a Falshood. *Spanheim* and *Maresius* have in vain shew'd a great deal of Erudition to re-establish the Credit of this Fiction.

THIS I don't discommend them for, neither do I care whether there ever was a She Pope or not: But I think it inexcusable, that those who thought themselves convinc'd, that *Blondel* was in the right, should be offended at the Discovery. All the *Hugonots* † were very angry, that a Minister of the Reformed Church should prove the Falstiy of a thing which the Protestant Interest required to be true; they blamed him ‖ for carrying away the Filth of the Papists, and said, that those who did not cease to reproach the

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\* In *Lib. de Joanna Papista.*

† In *Prefat. Apologet. apud Maresium.*

‖ *Curcellæus in refutat. Sam. Mares.*

the Memory of the Reformers deserv'd  
not that any one should do them that  
good Office. This was the Language of  
the most moderate; others were hotter,  
and cried out, \* that he had betray'd the  
Protestant Cause, and was brib'd by the  
Enemies of it.

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† Sarrauius Epist. 178.



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## CHAP. VII.

### *Of SCHISM.*



**T**HE Church every where is look'd upon, as an entire Garment, and whoever Dissents from what is believed in it, perswading others to be of his Opinion, tears and makes a Rent in it, which is call'd Schism. When Men of Foresight and great Abilities, are by a deep laid Policy raising a noble Machine of Power, it must be Vexatious to see Bunglers, either out of Envy or Ignorance, interrupt and disturb them in their hearty Endeavours: For this reason, the grand Architects of the Authority, and all the Secular Blessings of the Church, were always so incens'd with those who opposed them, and treated all Innovators with so much

rich Severity. That great Impieties and any monstrous Opinions have sprung up among Christians, since the time of the Apostles is undeniable, and I am likewise willing to believe, that most of those who teach'd Heresies have had their By ends that had no relation to Religion; but then Heresy began but had a specious Pretence of advancing Piety, or avoiding something that gave Offence in the System of the Orthodox.

THE Charity of a Christian in concerning the Frailties of others, can hardly be too extensive, and I believe that the Body (for I have nothing to do with the Heads) of most Hereticks were better People than they have been represented to us. The Terror Men have against making GOD the Author of Evil has produced the *Marcionites, Manicheans, Pelagians, Arianists*; and many other Sects. The clear Men have of the Unity of GOD gave the first Rise to *Arianism*, and has so often liv'd it under different Shapes. When Men of narrow Views lye poring upon particular Scripture Places, and let go the main Scope and Drift of the Gospel, they must commit Errors, or when Men, hanging in vain raised all their Faculties to render the infinite Sublimity of GOD and his Attributes intelligible, and endeavouring to

make him less incomprehensible; pull down as it were the Deity to their weak Intellects, they fall into miserable Mistakes. This latter was the Fault of *Origen*, who could not reconcile the Eternity of Damnation with the infinite Goodness of G O D; and since him Thousands have and daily do split on this Rock.

**T H E** Searchers after Truth are often labouring between a *Scylla* and a *Charybdis*; if they steer not steady, and are frighten'd from either side, they are infallibly lost. For fear of being scorch'd by the Fire, Men have leap'd into the Sea, where nothing could save them.

**W H A T** strange turns of Thought are human Minds liable to! The *Abellians* were a Sect of Hereticks, that \* would not suffer Man to be alone, and ordered every one to take a Woman for a Help-meet; but strictly forbad all carnal Commerce. They regulated Marriage at the rate of the Terrestrial Paradise, where there was only the Union of the Heart between *Adam* and *Eve*. When a Man and a Woman were enter'd into that kind of Society they adopted two Children, a Boy and a Girl, who succeeded to their Estate, and who were

\* P. Augustin. de Heres. c. 11

were married together, under the same Conditions of not getting Children, but to adꝑt Two of a different Sex : If these People were sincere, they must have been far from lascivious and practis'd a world of Self Denial ; We read of *Anchorets*, so affectedly modest, \* that they would not behold their own Nudities, nor touch their own obscene Parts but with a Glove, and an ancient Philosopher † would never touch them either with or without Gloves.

WHAT a vast difference was there between these People, and the Adamites, a Sect of Hereticks that likewise profess'd Continency, but condemn'd Marriage ; When || they assembled for the exercise of their Religion, they pull'd off their Cloaths, and Men and Women sat together stark naked, the Ministers as well as the Laity. After they had perform'd their Devotion, they put on their Cloaths again and went home ; if any committed a Fault, he was no more receiv'd into that Assembly : They said, that having, like *Adam*, eat of the forbidden Fruit, they were to be driven, like him, out of Paradise, which was the Name they gave to their Church : St. *Epiphanius* alledges,

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\* Hist. Ludicra of *Balthazar's Bonifacius*.

† *Xenocrates*.

|| *Dancens* in August. de Heres. cap. 3.



nothing against their Chastity, but *Clemens Alexandrinus* † relates horrible things of them, and what might be fear'd from such a Custom; but in Thirty or Forty Years, a Sect may much deviate from the Principles profess'd at their First Institution; having deriv'd their Name from the Stem of all Humane kind, these miserable People imitated the Nakedness, in which our first Parents lived, during the state of Innocence, and declin'd Marrying; because *Adam* did not know *Eve* till after his Sin, and after his going out of Paradise; so that they believ'd, that if Man had persever'd in his Innocency, there would have been no Marriage.

**MEN** may have extravagant Notions, yet no Criminal Design, till Human Passion intervenes, and laying hold of the Opportunity, turns that to Wickedness and Abomination, which was begun with the most innocent Intention, witness the devotional Watchings which were practis'd in the Primitive Church: As they were perform'd at Night and by great Numbers, lascivious Persons made an ill use of them; when it was found that all the Remedies applied to stop this Evil prov'd ineffectual, these publick Watchings were entirely left off.

**T H E**

† *Idem* *ibid.*

THE *Turlupins* were still a more infamous Sect, in all respects as impudent \* as the *Cynicks* among the Heathens. The *Lollards* and *Albigenses* were not much better; Among the Protestants there has been one *Picard*, † who over-stretched the Errors of the *Adamites* in respect to Nakedness; in a little Time he got a great many Followers from *Flanders* into *Germany* as far as *Bohemia*, tho' some Roman Catholicks have given the Name of *Picards* ‡ to all the Protestants of *Bohemia* who oppos'd Popery.

SEVERAL doating Men likewise among the *Anabaptists* \*\* have affected to go naked, most of them more deserving Pity than Punishment. In the Year 1535, *Adamites* have been seen at *Amsterdam* run stark naked through the Streets, that were rich, and of good Families; and it is reported that some were Fanatical enough to climb upon Trees, where they waited in vain for Bread to fall from Heaven, until they fell half dead to the Ground: Many Schisms ought only to have been ridicul'd, and the Enthusiastical

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\* Gerson apud Prateol.

† Varillas, *The History of Wickleshamism*, Part 2.

‡ Rudigerus In his *History of the Brethren of Bohemia*.

\*\* Lambertus Hortensius In his *Relation of the Tumults of the Anabaptists*.

fiastical Innovators treated, as most Parts of *Europe* did the *French* Prophets some few Years ago; but Clergy-men have no Patience, presently they are serious and fall to Persecution; when Men run into Errors, because they are Fools, it is wrong for wise Men to be angry with and punish them, as if they were Knaves.

THE Schisms of Note that have infested the Church, from the Time of the Apostles to that of *Luther*, are said to have been †† a Hundred and Four-score, whether more or less is not material to my Purpose, the Church of *Rome* has quell'd and triumph'd over them all, till that, which she calls the Northern Heresy, and we the Reformation: By this She receiv'd a ruder Shock than ever She sustain'd before, and would have been destroy'd, had the Reformers been unanimous; Nay, if among the Protestants the Clergy could have but kept half the Temper the Princes endeavour'd to do, long before this time we would have known nothing of the Pope or of the Church of *Rome*, but from History.

As the Reformation could not be brought about, without the Help of the Secular Power, the Laity was resolv'd to be no Enemies by it; in all Countries where

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†† Moreri.

where it took place, the Publick immediately recover'd the greatest part of the Lands, the Treasure and other Possessions of the Church, that many different Ways had been either coax'd or extorted from them by Priestcraft : The Supremacy in Ecclesiastical, as well as Temporal Matters, which the Pope claim'd as his undoubted Right was abjur'd, and vested in the Civil Magistrate, by which those Princes and States became the real Sovereigns of their own Dominions, without asking leave of the Court of *Rome* ; no Infallibility of Councils or of any visible Church was to be allow'd of, and consequently Mens Consciences were deliver'd from the Tyranny the Priests had usurp'd over them. And lastly, Matrimony was made as lawful to the Clergy, as it was to the Laity.

IT was on this foot only, that the Clergy, as well as the Sovereigns of the Reformers, thought it possible this great Work could be accomplish'd, and had Churchmen no more deviated from these Principles, than the Princes have done, the Temporal Advantages that would have accrued from the Reformation to every Society, without interfering with Religion, would have been inestimable : Nothing is more manifest than that, without taking  
away

away the exorbitant Power and Authority from the Church, the Reformation could never have been thought on; for whoever acknowledges the Pope's Supremacy, can never by force of Arms dispute his Jurisdiction, without owning himself to be in open Rebellion; and it is impossible to act more inconsistently, than to say that Popes are infallible, and at the same time contradict them, and shew that they have been guilty of many damnable Errors.

YET as soon as an absolute Separation from the Church of *Rome* was made, the Protestants had establish'd their Communions, and the Reformed Religion was maintain'd by the Sovereigns in every Country that had embrac'd it, the Clergy presently grew weary of being too Apostolick, for as the First Reformers had upon very good Grounds found fault with, and given their Sentiments against the then establish'd Church, so many of their Successors claim'd the same Privilege, and openly told the World, that by the same Authority, which was that of the Scripture, it was as lawful for them to dissent from the first Reformers, if they could demonstrate that they had been in an Error, as it had been for the First Reformers to dissent from the Church of *Rome*.

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THIS not being easily answer'd by a Protestant, without engaging himself in tedious Disputes, the National Churches in all Reform'd Countries when Schismatics arose, wanted that Power and Authority to crush them, which in the Church of Rome they had call'd an Usurpation; and no Clergy-man who has the temporal Felicity of his Order at Heart, will scruple to own, that to keep up Orthodoxy Power is requisite, as well as Argument, and that no National Church can flourish without it.

THE Words Supremacy and Infallibility are odious, but if we examine into the Behaviour of the Clergy, we shall find but few Protestant Church-men, who would not be glad of some Equivalents: Most of them agree, that in all Countries, the Church ought to have a Jurisdiction without Appeal, that in all Ecclesiastical Matters, the Clergy are the undoubted Judges of the Laity, as well as of their own Order: But that Church-men should ever be tried by the Laity, is not so well approved of, and many of them find fault with it, even for Crimes against the State; Clergymen they say, ought at least to be independent on the Government. In their Prayers, and by way of Compliment, a Protestant Clergy may stile their Sovereign, to be under Christ the Supreme Head and Govern-

**Governour of the Church :** But if this Head complys not with all their Demands however unreasonable, if he refuses to persecute those who dissent from the National Church, as violently as the Clergy require he should, he shall immediately be hated by them, slander'd, vilified, and on all Occasions, treated with all the Disrespect and ill Language imaginable ; how incens'd they will be, how turiously they fly in the Face of their Supreme Governour, if at any time he pretends to direct or admonish them, tho' in the mildest manner ; what Clamours they will raise against him should he but hinder them from coming together at Synods and other Assemblies, even when all the World knows that they desire to meet from no other Motive than human Passion, and to gratify a Vindictive Spirit !

**PROTESTANT Church-men** may likewise acknowledge, that it is not impossible they should err, tho' I already have given an Instance of one who denied it, (p. 140) but at the same time they required of us an implicit Faith and ready assent, to every thing they shall advance. The National Clergy in all Countries hate arguing, they are always angry with those who oppose them, or but call the Truth of their System in question ; and no Church ever had the Power

To punish Men for disbelieving her Doctrine, without making a severe Use of it on the slightest Occasions :- From all which it is manifest, that if Protestant Church-men are so civil, as not to pretend to be infallible, they expect we should return the Compliment, and treat them as if they were.

THE Lawfulness of Marriage in the Clergy, which was agreed to at the Reformation; they have not yet made any Attempt against; they are easy on this Head for their own sakes, for where Incontinency is scandalous, and Fornication punish'd, no Clergy will live without Wives; *Luther* allow'd Two † to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and several Passages in his Works seem to favour Poligamy, this I have nothing to do with: What I shall observe is, That the Liberty of marrying in Church-men, is an Article of the highest Importance to us; the rigorous Precept of Celibacy has all along been look'd upon by the Vulgar of the *Romish* Church as a piece of Self-Denial, a mighty Hardship which the Clergy imposed upon themselves and underwent for the good of Religion, whereas among all the Machinations of the Church, this was the deepest Plot that has been laid against the Wealth and Property of Lay-men.

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† *Varillas* *Histoire*. de l'*Heresie*.



THE Reason alledg'd for it, that to keep the holy and immaculate Office of the Priesthood at a Distance remote enough from Uncleanness this exquisite Purity was required, is a Pretence as false as it is plausible : Had Chastity been the Church's Aim, she would not have conniv'd at the Lewd Transgressions of the Clergy as she has done : In *Italy, Spain, and Portugal*, the Indulgencies for the Sin of the Flesh and all Impurities, are cheap and easy ; and at the same time that they look upon Continence as a Thing impracticable, Marriage in a Priest is shocking and abominable.

THIS may be Folly in the Multitude, but in the Clergy it is Craft, they know that if a Society of a Hundred Men, who have all vow'd Celibacy, will keep up their Number, and as any die, chuse other single Men, under the same Obligation in the Room of the Deceas'd, it mult be immortal, and that if they have a certain Income exceeding tho' never so little, their Yearly Expences, and there is the least Prudence and Oeconomy among them, this Society at long run, will get into their Clutches the greatest if not all the Wealth of the Country they live in ; as the Church had many Artifices to scrape Riches together

ther, this was the most suitable Contrivance to keep them.

BUT as this piece of Policy was by all means to be conceal'd from the Vulgar, it was thought necessary, to make some shew of Virtue, and to produce some eminent Examples of Chastity among the Clergy: For tho' the Lewdness of Priests and Friars, at least of the greatest part of them, was notorious whilst they were alive, it was no difficult matter, when they had been dead some time, and their Memory was forgot by the Publick, to say of them what they pleas'd. There is hardly an Order of Monks, that has not done themselves this kindness in the Romantick Praises they have bestow'd upon their Founders. *St. Ignatius de Loyala* was a Soldier by Profession, and had given Proofs \* of his Valour; when suddenly he became a Zealous Votary to the *Virgin Mary*, hung up, and all Night watch'd his Arms in a Chappel Consecrated to her, where with all the Ceremonies, used in Ancient † Chivalry, he declared himself her Champion, and dedicated the remainder

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\* Ribadeneiro in vita Ignatii lib. 1. cap. 4.

† He was converted by reading the Legends of the Saints, as *Don Quixot* was to Knight-Errantry, by reading of old Romances. Stellingfleet, of the Phanaticism of the Church of Rome.

of his Life to her Service. The Holy Virgin in return, if we believe his Historians, bestow'd upon him the Gift of Continence in such a \* degree, that, from the time he became her Knight to his Death, he felt not the least Symptom of an immodest Temptation.

A Critick will say, That his Panegyriste have over-shot the Mark, that by endeavouring to render his Virtue too sublime, they left him none, that where there is no desire there can be no self denial, and that a Man, who is not sensible of any Temptation, can claim no greater Merit from Continence, than he can from Frigidity. This fault is not to be found with the commendations bestow'd on St. Francis of Assis, the Founder of one of the Four Mendicant Orders, whose Chastity has been highly extoll'd, tho' the Conflicts he had with Carnal Temptations were very severe. *At the beginning of his Conversion † (says St. Bonaventure) he would often throw himself in a Ditch full of Ice, that he might get a compleat Victory over his Domestick Enemy, and to preserve the Robe of Chastity from the conflagration of Pleasure. Being one Day strongly press'd by a Temptation of the Flesh he pull'd*  
off

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\* Ribadeneir.

† See Ferrand's Answer to the Apology for the Reformation.

off his Cloaths \* and scourg'd himself soundly!  
 After that he open'd his Cell and went into a  
 Garden, where he threw himself into a great  
 heap of Snow. The Fever of Lust must  
 be very high, where such violent Coolers  
 are requir'd.

We have had a Monk of our own long  
 before. *St. Francis*, who made use of the  
 same Potent Remedies, and often flung  
 himself † into cold Water or Snow, to  
 extinguish the Flames of Concupiscence;  
 but with greater success as to Triumph: For  
*St. Francis*, in the height of his eager de-  
 sires || durst not come near Women; but  
*St. Aldhelme*, an *English* Friar, who lived  
 in the Eighth Century, and was for his  
 Learning and Piety made a Bishop, got so  
 perfect a mastery over the Flesh, that \*  
 the finest Woman made no impression up-  
 on him: And not to flinch from the most  
 dangerous Temptations, he went to Bed to  
 a young Girl, and lying by her Side repeat-  
 ed the whole Psalter, whilst the motions of  
 his Heart tended only to Heaven.

THIS invincible Fortitude of *St. Ald-  
 helme*, has been look'd upon as an example

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† rather

\* Ibidem.

† *Wilhelm. Malmesbury, in vita St. Aldhelmi.*

|| *St. Bonaventura in vita St. Francisc.*

\* *Malmesbury ubi supra.*

† rather to be admired than imitated; and I believe not, that many, who have hazarded themselves to such trials of Virtue, are come off Conquerors, tho' several experiments have been made of it since the time of this Saint. About the Year 1537, the Countess of *Guaftala* by the advice of *Baptist de Crema*, a Jacobin Monk founded || a Society call'd *That of the Victory over ones self against the Flesh*. To gain this Victory, a certain Lady named *Julia*, put a young Fellow into Bed with a young Girl, and laid a Crucifix as a Barrier betwixt them. Which, if it kept them Virtuous, ought not to be omitted in the Catalogue of the Miracles that have been wrought by Crucifixes. This Society of *Guaftalians* multiply'd prodigioufly for some time, till being look'd upon as Libertines, they were every where expell'd.

WHAT fine Stories or Legends soever we are told of later Saints, it is certain, that all the ancient Fathers, and others who have wrote with any sincerity found nothing more difficult to conquer than the Sin of the Flesh. St. *Jerom* tell \* us, that the touch

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† *History of the Works of the Learned for the Month of April*, 1689.

|| *Hist. de la Mappemonde Papistique* Page 18. Edit. 1567.

\* *Hieronym. lib. 1. contra Jovinian.*

touch of a Woman ought to be avoided like that of a Mad Dog, a caution as terrible as could be given by any Man, how severely soever he had been bit by them. Yet the experience of *St. Jerom* in that Affair, was not comparable to that of *St. Augustin*, who owns to us, that in his Youth he was excessively addicted to Women, and made use of a Prayer, in which he desired G O D || to make him Chaste, but not too soon.

IT is true, that this Father repented of all these Things; but he forsook not his Lewdness at once: The first Symptoms of amendment that he shew'd, was \* to fix his Incontinency, which had before been rambling on many Objects; he took a Concubine with whom he was contented several Years, and having resolv'd on Matrimony sent her back into *Africk*, whence he had her. But he had contracted such a habit of Incontinency, even when he had renounced Manicheism, and prepar'd for his Baptism, that he was forc'd to take † a new Concubine in the room of her he had dismiss'd, till the Maiden design'd for his Wife should come of Age to

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|| Augustin. Confess.

\* Idem ibid.

† Idem,

be Married, for which he was to tarry near two Years. No Man has spoke with greater freedom concerning the force of Concupiscence, and the Extasies of Lustful Pleasures than himself; converted as he was; and this Father has more than once express'd himself so lively on this Head, that he is better let alone than read in those Places by most People.

I have said thus much of the Injudicious Encomiums of the Legendaries in relation to the Chastity of some Saints; and hinted at the dangers, which Virtue runs in a forc'd Celibacy, to make it visible, by what means the Craft of *Rome* has weather'd all the Storms, that have attack'd her before the Reformation; desir'd every one to consider, whether a Protestant ought ever to wish for the Return of the Wealth, the Authority, and the Power the Church had before she was Reform'd, if these were the noxious Weeds she was to be clear'd from? Or if, taking them in another view, we look upon them as the strong Banks, that have stem'd the most raging Tides of Heresy; whether those, who have overthrown them, ought much to wonder at the Inundation of Schisms, which has follow'd upon the destruction of them?

**LUTHER** was the first Reformer, and had made a considerable Progress before *Calvin* appear'd in that Work: The Church of *England* was the last, and before our Reformation was in any forwardness, several Schisms were already sprung from Lutheranism; tho' in the first Fifty Years they had not above Twelve, of which that of the Anabaptists was one of the first. Afterwards they very much encreas'd in number: Different Schisms likewise arose from Calvinism, and the Anabaptists have been divided in a vast many Sects, \* some of them extremely different from the other. In the beginning also of the Reformation Arianism was reviv'd, and many of that Sect imbued with other pernicious Errors, came from *Italy* to *France*, *Germany*, and *Holland*, but finding no refuge any where else, settled in *Poland*.

IF we consider the Principal Sects of the Protestants, with all their Divisions and Subdivisions, we shall find their number to be frightful; and if we reflect on all the manifold Mischiefs of Civil Wars, Massacre and Ruin they have been the occasion of, we shall have reason to say, that nothing under the Sun is more de-

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structive

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\* *John Henry Otcius Annals of Anabaptism.*



destructive to Mankind than Schism. Many wise Princes, and able Statesmen have endeavour'd to remedy this Evil, by uniting Protestants together, but have always been hindred by the Clergy, either of one side or other. And, if any Church-men (for it is not to be done without them) ever engag'd in so good a design they have been constantly reproach'd, and call'd Traytors, and false Bretheren for it, by the rest of their Order.

\* *FERRI*, † *Dureus*, ‖ *Hottinger*, and several other Moderate Divines of the last Century, who lamenting the Divisions of the Protestants, labour'd for an Union among them, have all met with this Fate; and long before them the same treatment was given to *James Acontius*, who receiv'd so many favours of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was the Author of the famous Book, call'd *The Stratagems of the Devil*. Some said of him, that he had a mind to reduce all Sects into one, and \* inclose them in the same

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\* *Paul Ferri a Learned Divine, and a famous Preacher at Metz.*

† *John Dureus, a Scotch Divine, who travell'd through Germany, to negotiate an Accommodation between the Lutherans and Calvinists. See his Prodromus tractat. irenicor.*

‖ *John Henry Hottinger, a Swiss Divine, who was made President of the Commissioners, who were to Revise the German Translation of the Bible. Heidelb. in vita Hotting.*

\* *Isaac Junius in examin. Apolog. Remonstranc.*

same Ark, as *Noah* did all sorts of Animals in his, wherein they were preserv'd, tho' sustain'd by different Food: Others accused him, that by reducing the points necessary to Salvation to a small number, and requiring † a Tolleration for the particular Opinions, which were against the other Articles, he open'd a wide Door to all manner of Heresies.

THE differences between *Luther* and *Calvin*, have above all the rest been very fatal to their Followers, because the numbers are so formidable of each side. The valiant King of Sweden, *Gustavus Adolphus*, labour'd hard in his time, to reunite them, but in vain; *and it is certain that a reunion between them had been made long ago, had it depended only upon the Princes; but because that Affair depends on Divines, it never yet could take effect, and probably never will.* It is not a Layman, who judges thus of these Gentlemen, generally speaking, but it is one of their own Order, and he, amongst others, that can speak best of it by experience.

He \* says, *that the business of the reunion ought to be principally committed to secular Persons,*

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† Peltius in dedicatione Harmoniæ.

\* Petrus Jurius de pace incunda.

*Persons, and not to Ecclesiasticks. The Divines, adds he, are too much addicted to their own Sense, and have but little equity for those, that differ from their Opinion. They should not Dispute concerning the Truth of the Doctrines; for Disputes rather create new Wars than appease the old ones; the Disputants are not for Concord but for Victory. They, who find themselves worsted, grow more haughty and enraged. In an assembly, where a reunion is treated of the Divines should be reduced to the plain Function of Advocates. They should be heard, but not be Judges: That quality ought to be left to Statesmen, and it is necessary, that the Divines should even take an Oath, that they will submit to the Sentence that the Political Judges shall pronounce.*

SINCE then without Tyranny, and granting a Power to the Church, which is destructive to the State, it is impossible to make Men agree in Sentiments of Things, about which from their Cradle they have been taught to differ, and Notions once embraced cannot be dropt, whilst there are Clergy-men to uphold them; the wisest measures a Nation can take for its tranquility are, chiefly to endeavour two Things; one of them is, to prevent, as much as possible, all further Schism, every one in his own Sect. The other, to watch

watch narrowly and disappoint those, who would make a handle of their Differences to do Mischief. To do the first, nothing is more effectual than to make all Confessions, and Articles of Faith, as comprehensive, and conceive them in as general terms, as the Word of GOD will allow of. For when the Rigorists of any Sect begin to be too particular in explaining some Scripture Places, and never rest till they have so narrowly contracted the Sense of them, that it is impossible to construe them any other way, than what shall suit with their private fancy; tho' at the same time the Words in which the Holy Writers have deliver'd them may admit of various speculations; it is then that Schism and Mischief are a hatching, for whoever cannot concur with every Word, the majority have agreed to state their Explication in, is excommunicated and declared a Schismatick.

**B**UT as the following of this first maxim chiefly concerns the Clergy, the Laity, who besides their wishes for the observance of it can contribute but little to it, ought to lay the greater stress upon the second, which is to disappoint those who would make a handle of their differences to do mischief; and this is altogether in their Power in every Protestant Country,

Country, if the better sort and sensible part of them will but steadily resolve, in the first place, never to believe, what different Sects say of one another, if what is alledg'd be not plainly prov'd on the Party accus'd; Secondly, to prefer the Discourses of JESUS CHRIST to any modern Sermons, they can hear; and the Charms of the Peaceful Gospel to the distorted Countenance of an angry Priest; to spend time in exhorting Men to the latter in an affront to Christians; but to shew the reasonableness of the first, and the solid Grounds there are for such a Resolution, I must beg leave to draw a little Sketch of the Clergy's Behaviour to each other, when they clash in Opinion, and neither Conferences, or the Interposition of the Government, can accommodate the Matter.

THE first Onset of the War is commonly made by Cases rightly stated, and Vindications on both sides; Letters to a Friend, Answers and Replies, and, where the Press is open, Pamphlets fly about like hand Granadoes in an Attack. The first generally contain Proofs, Arguments, and Appeals to common Sense; in the next you'll have Cavils, and Logical Distinctions; till at last they end in Calumnies and Injunctives.

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THE first weapon in their Artillery of Slander is the Accusation of Atheism, Blasphemy, or a Tendency to either; which is made use of by all Parties, and as Occasion serves flung on Tenets diametrically opposite. The Doctrine of Predestination has been bespatter'd with it a Thousand times. *Martin Becanus* is more extravagant, who says, that the Fruits of *Calvinism*, are more pernicious than those of Atheism. *Arminianism* asserts free Will, and is in that point the reverse of *Calvinism*; yet *Vedelius*, a famous reform'd Divine; says, that the scope of it is to introduce a subtle Atheism into the Church.

As there is nothing more generally abominated, or more justly detested than the Name of Atheist; so it is often abused, and serves evil Men for an Instrument of Slander, to defeat an Enemy without any further trouble: No other Calumny is counted so effectual to blow up a Man at once, whether he deserves it or not, and as in this it is like Gun-Powder, so it is the same in its Origin, which both owes to the Clergy. Accordingly they have always claim'd it as their Property, and of Divines of different Sects and Religions, have constantly made use of it, either against the Laity, whom they disliked, and would render the object of the Publick

Indignation and Fury. Or else among themselves in Theological Warfare, and the zealous Exercise of their superlative and proverbial Hatreds of one another.

THE next Stratagem of the Clergy is to fasten, if possible, some Crime against the State on the Tenets of their Adversaries, that by the one they may render them as odious to Men, as by the other they have represented them to be to G O D. So one Doctrine is said to favour Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, another to be Antimonarchical, and leading to Anarchy. During the greatest part of the two last Centuries, the National Clergy of *France* exclaim'd with great Violence against the Hugonots, and loudly asserted, that they were all Republicans, and the greatest Enemies to the Crown, whilst themselves appear'd in Arms against their Princes more than once, and were not only the open Abettors in assassinating two of their Kings successively, but \* many of them likewise have pretended, by their own Tenets, to justify those execrable Murders,

T H E

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\* See Thuanus Histor. & Maimbourg. Histor. de la Ligne, Liv. 3.

THE other Arms, which they display in Calumniating one another, consist in Personal Reflections, false Quotations, and downright Lyes. It is impossible to Men, unacquainted with religious Controversies, to imagine what improbable Falshoods the Sons of *Rome* have dar'd to publish against the first Reformers: Their Rage against *Luther* has been altogether Senseless, and come up to Frensy. I would not speak thus of common Detraction, but some have been foolish enough, seriously to assert, that an *Incubus* \* begot him upon his Mother. The very Astrologers have thrown in their Mite, and falsify'd the Hour of his † Nativity, to have an Opportunity of drawing his Horoscope to their Mind.

THE *Lutherans* have been almost as violent against *Calvin*, who undertook to reform them, and a Minister of theirs one *Hunnius* ‡, who was otherwise a Man of Learning, had his Understanding so blinded by his Zeal, as to accuse him at once of *Nestorism*, *Judaism*, *Mahometism*, and, to shew

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\* See Mairnbourg Histor. du Lutheran. & Spondan. annual'd ann. 1517.

† Seckendorf Hist. Lutheran. lib. 1.

‡ Giles Hunnius a famous Lutheran Divine, Professor of Divinity at Marburg.



shew himself compleatly mad, \* *Atheism*; for a Man in his Senses would have known that the Imputation of the last could not be true, if but any one of the other was.

THE *Calvinists* again have father'd many Things upon the *Anabaptists* and other Sects which they never dream'd of; and all of them in their Differences and Paper Wars, dealt very unfairly with one another. But that I may not be thought to aggravate these Matters, I shall quote the Testimony of *Ferom Lanchius*, a Protestant Divine, who once was like to have fill'd a Professor's Chair in *England*, where he complains of the manner of Writing used among the Protestants, even those who would be counted Pastors, Doctors and Pillars of the Church. *We often (says he) that the State of the Question may not be understood, wrap it up in Obscurity. Things that are manifest we impudently deny; such as are false we affirm without Shame: Things openly impious, we obtrude as the first Principles of Faith; what's Orthodox we condemn for Heresy. We wrest the Scriptures, according to our own Dreams, as we list. We brag of the Fathers, when there is nothing which we have less a*  
Mind

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\* In a Book call'd *Calvintus Judaizans*

*Mind to, than to follow their Doctrine. To sophisticate, to throw Calumnies, and call Names, is familiar to us. So we can but maintain our own Cause, good or bad, justly or injuriously; we care not what becomes of the rest \*.*

SHOULD any one object, that this *Zanchius*, though he was a Protestant, had been much abused by his Brethren, and when he wrote this, had been led away by Human Passion and Resentment, I shall only answer, that then he may serve me in a double Capacity, and so make use of him for an Example and a Witness both; and being one of the most celebrated Divines of the Sixteenth Century, if he be thought not so well qualify'd for the one, he must be more eminently so for the other.

BY this time, I hope, I have convinc'd my Reader, that we ought not to believe what different Sects say against one another without Proof. I confess I need not have gone so far beyond Sea for one single Testimony of an Author, who has wrote near an Hundred and fifty Years ago, when to

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\* A Translation from the Latin quoted by Father l'Abbe, in *differt. de Script. Ecclesiast. tom. 2.*

corroborate my Assertion, I might have fo many Thousand living Witnesses at Home. But I did it in behalf of those peevish Gentlemen, that are always finding Fault with the Times, to convince them, that the Protestants of our Age are not worse than they were at the beginning of the Reformation, and that Clergy-men are now, as they have been all along.

**T H E** Benefit a Nation will receive from the Maxim I recommend, is plainly visible; for when each Party ceases to believe the Evil, which is said of the other, the Anger of both must soon be disarm'd, and consequently the Firebrands, who by their Stories and Suggestions design to do Mischie to either, or both, disappointed. It is for want of this Resolution only that Schism can be pernicious to the State: But if we believe, without Examination, what we are told of our Adversaries, there can be no Peace, and our Animosities must be eternal, tho' in the main we quarrell'd about nothing.

**O U R** Church and the Presbyterians disagree about Ceremonies, and way of Worship, but the Religion of both is the same; for allowing the Doctrine of a Church

Church and the Government of a Church to be two Things, one may be for, and another against Episcopacy, without differing in Religion, more than one Divine of the Church of *England* may differ from another, and yet be both of the same Church, which happens daily without giving Offence; and I don't believe there are two Christians in the World, that have exactly the same Sentiments about every Thing contain'd in the Bible. Yet what a heinous Schism is their Religion! And what a monstrous Superstition is ours!

WOULD you know what Presbyterians are? Go to some Churches and you may hear, that they are a wilful, seditious and perverse People, a Generation of Vipers, the worst of Subjects; that all their Pretences to Religion are only Hypocrisy; that they are of Antimonarchical and King-killing Principles; that they have been the occasion of all the Calamities that have befallen the Land for above these Hundred Years.

BUT if they are represented to us in this manner, their Ministers have not been behind hand with ours, and some of them have drawn us to their Congregations in

no better Colours. They say of us, that we are always talking of the Church, and none louder than those who never go into it; that our Worship is half Popery; that we never think a King the Head of the Church, but when he is a Slave to the Clergy; that our Church never flourishes, but when the State is in danger, and we never complain but in just Reigns; that we laugh at Passive-Obedience, when it is not our Turn to govern, and never preach up that Doctrine heartily, but to impose it upon others; that unless our Party is pleas'd, we stick at no Mischief, and then lay the Fault on our Adversaries.

WHILST by such Stories the Dissenters are frighten'd from our Church and Communion, and our selves continue in the Sentiments we are taught to harbour of them, it is not likely our Breaches should ever be lessen'd. Is not the Nation in general very much obliged to the Clergy of both Sides? One thing indeed may be said in behalf of the Dissenting Clergy, that cannot be alledg'd as an Excuse for the National. Their Ministers speak ill of us for their daily Bread, and many of them would have their Livelihood to seek, were our Differences to be made up: It is  
not

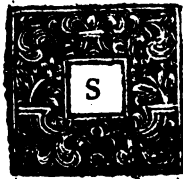
not their Interest we should meet each other half way, more than it would be the Interest of a Ferryman to have the two Shores unite: Whereas the National Clergy can have no such Fears; their Income is settled, and they might live as Comfortably without Calumniating their Neighbours, as now they do with it.





## CHAP. IX.

### *Of* TOLERATION *and* PERSECUTION.



**S**CHISM is an Ailment in the Body Politick, not curable but by an utter Extirpation of the Limbs infected, and a steady Cruelty, Zealously pursued without Pity or Remorse. All petty Severities, however wholesome they may appear, are Quack Medicines, which only put the Patients to Pain, without removing the Distemper. It is a Case in which no Remedies are effectual but killing ones; and to persecute by Halts is sprinkling Water upon a Coal-fire; a small quantity of it will encrease the Flame, which a Pail full would have totally extinguish'd.

IN the latter part of the foregoing Chapter, I have named a Method how Schism may remain, and yet the Evil generally

generally apprehended from it, by the Prudence of the Laity be prevented. If we consider how easily it may be bore with, without any Detriment to the publick Tranquility, and we compare the Peaceful Maxim laid down there to the height of Barbarity, by which only Schism can be cured, Persecution must appear to us as a Remedy abundantly worse than the Disease; and the more a Man knows of the World, either from Reading or Experience, the more he shall be convinc'd, that not only Reveal'd as well as Natural Religion, but likewise Humanity, Reason, the Interest of Mankind, their Peace and Felicity, and almost every thing in Nature pleads for Tolleration, except the National Clergy in every Country.

THOSE who are the most sollicitous about the Temporal Interest of the Church, are commonly the greatest Persecutors. It is the Opinion of *Leo Allatius*, the greatest Champion of the Papal Authority, whom \* I have quoted once before, *That Hereticks must be proscrib'd, exterminated and punish'd, and if they are obstinate, burnt and put to Death †.* Neither is this only a Lesson of the Inquisition, no where taught

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but

\* Page 137.

† *Leo Allatius de perpetua Confessione, lib. 2. c. 13.*



but in *Italy, Spain, and Portugal*, the *Gallican Church*, who treats Popes with greater freedom, has preach'd up the same Doctrine with no less Violence against the *Hugonots*. Let us see what *Quintin*, a famous Professor of the Canon-Law at *Paris*, said, in a Speech he made in the Name of the Clergy, during the Assembly of the States at *Orleans*, in *December, 1560*. the King and Queen being present.

HAVING demanded, \* *That all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom should be obliged to be Catholics; that the Non-Christians, that is, the Hereticks, should not be admitted into the Conversation and Company of the Christian Subjects, and that for the time to come all Hereticks should be forbidden to deal in any Commodity, (whether it were Books or any other thing) he added these dreadful Words: And therefore our Request is Just, Reasonable, Holy and Catholick, and grounded upon the express Command of GOD, who enjoyns you, Sir, to grant it us, repeating the same Command in several Places, and at several Times. He speaks of the Idolators and Gentiles Strangers to the Law; Hereticks among Christians are accounted to be such: These are the Words of the said Law of GOD; be sure not to con-*  
tract

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\* *Presid. la Place de l'Etat de la Religion & Republique Liv. 4.*

*tract any Friendship, Confederacy or Marriage with them; don't suffer them to inhabit the Country; take no Pity on them, beat them, strike them to Death. Here follows the Reason of that Command, lest they should make thee sin against me; if thou believest their Opinions, which will be an Offence and a Scandal that will raise my Fury against thee, and soon after I shall destroy thee. Sir, and you Madam, avoid these horrible and dreadful Threatnings, for the Salvation of your Souls and the Preservation of your Scepter. This is, Sir, what your Clergy of France propose and represent to your Majesty in all Simplicity, Obedience, Humility and Submission concerning the Honour and Service of GOD in your Kingdom, and for the Extirpation and Abolition of what is contrary to it, viz. of Sects and Hereticks.*

IT is plain, that the most humble and devout of the Clergy, by this Memorial, to which he said they expected an Answer, were for shedding Blood as a Thing necessary, since they minded the King of Moses's Order and Threatnings: And before what I have quoted, *Quintin* had already said, *That his Majesty being strong, and arm'd with Iron, ought to oppose the Hereticks, that in order to it, and for no other end, GOD had put the Sword into his Hands, to protect the Good, and punish the Wicked; and that*  
*none*

*none can deny, that a Heretick is capitally wicked, and consequently ought to be punish'd Capitally; being liable to the Sword of the Magistrate.*

THUS freely Church-men express themselves, before the Secular Power is wrought up to Mischief; but when Princes become Tyrants, and set about Persecution in earnest themselves, the Clergy desire to be seen in it no longer. It is not Forty Years ago, that the *Gallican Church* in a Speech to *Lewis XIV.* made some Months before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, declared, *That she did not desire his Majesty should make use of his Power for the Extirpation of Hereticks.* The *Hugonots* complain'd of this Dissimulation, as may be seen in the Words of *Mr. Claude.*

WHILST the Thing, says he, \* was only preparing the Authors of the Persecution did not conceal themselves, but used their Endeavours to make the King appear in it. When Things came to the last Extremity, and to open Force, they conceal'd themselves as much as they could, and made the King appear in his whole Extent. There was nothing to be heard then but this sort of Discourses. The King  
will

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\* *Claude Plaines de Proteffants.*

will have it so. The King is resolv'd upon it. The King goes farther than the Clergy desire. By these two Means they have been so cunning as to ascribe to themselves the least violent Part of that Persecution, and to charge the King with the most odious Part.

**T H E S E** Things may pass in a *Roman* Catholick Clergy. A Church that claims Infallibility and Superiority over all Titles and Governments, and is in actual Possession of Wealth and a Property; sufficient to make the Laity dread her, may have some Plea for Persecution: But a Protestant Church, that has not only own'd that she can err, and that the Magistrate is above her, but likewise suffer'd her self to be stript of her Treasure, one would think could have no Pretensions to justify, nor Means to go through with it. Yet there is no National Church among the Protestants that has not try'd to persecute as far as the Secular Power would let her; and a single Presbyter, who has once been suffer'd to make himself Popular, and the Idol of the Mob, may render himself as formidable to the State as a Pope.

**A T** *Geneva* by the sole Authority of *Calvin* many have been proscrib'd, and besides

besides *Servetus*, who every Body knows was burnt for Heresy, \* *Alcicus*, † *Blancanus* = *Scorpius*, and some others, would have met with the same Fate, if they had not saved themselves by Flight, and even fled the Life of that great Reformer, † *John Calvin*: *Calvin* was like the rest, was sent and got into *Milan*, ventur'd, upon the Death of his most dreadful Adversary, to retire into *Switzerland*, but was not long of, persecuted by the *Calvinists*, and had his Head \*\* struck off for obscuring the Mystery of the Trinity in the Territories of *Beza*: glorying that he suffer'd for the Honour of G O D the Father.

†† *CASTALIO*, who likewise has been forc'd to quit *Geneva* on the Score of Herodoxy published a Book a little after the Execution of *Servetus*, in which he blam'd that Action, and spoke up for Toleration, ††† disguising himself under the Name of *Martius*

\* John Paul Alcicus, a Gentleman of Milan.

† George Blanchard, an Italian Physician, born in Piedmont.

‡ Mathew Gibaldus, a learned Gentleman of Padua.

§ He was a Native of Calabria in the Kingdom of Naples.

¶†† Aretius, Histor. Reform. Polon.

¶††† A learned Savoyard, who was many Years Professor of Greek Tongue at Basil, where he dy'd.

Ant. Fayus in vita Beza.

*Martinus Bellius.* This *Beza* wrote against, mainraining, that † Hereticks were to be punish'd by the Magistrate. So that whether we judge from the Example of *Calvin*, or the Precepts of *Beza* his Collegue, and greateſt Champion, Persecution ſeems to be a manifeſt Tenet of Calvinism. Whatever Piety, Eloquence and Erudition theſe mighty Pillars of the Reform'd Church might be endued with, they were not always govern'd by the Spirit of Chriſtianity; their Zeal was often ſuperiour to their Charity, they were implacable to all Adverſaries, and in the moſt important of their Actions, they were over-rul'd by humane Paſſion.

SHOULD it be objected, that ſuch Tempers as theirs were more prone to Anger and Persecution than others; that among the Calvinists there were meak and compassionate Chriſtians, and that therefore the Charge ought not to be ſo general as I have laid it, I would answer, That Power and Authority were dangerous Tools in the Hands of Church-men: That whenever they were warmly oppoſed they could never forbear making uſe of them, and that how Juſt, Humane and Compaſſionate

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† *Beza* de puniend. Hæret.

sionate soever their Natural Temper might be, all Clergy-men in Power turn'd Persecutors, as soon as they were thoroughly anger'd. St. *Augustin* had an incomparable Wit, and an Imagination happy and abounding. \* He had all along entertain'd Sentiments of Mildness and Charity concerning the Course to be taken with Hereticks: But the Contestations he had with the Donatists, heated him so much, that he ran into the quite contrary Opinion, and maintain'd stoutly, that Hereticks ought to be persecuted.

THE grand Reason chiefly alledg'd for persecuting Hereticks is, that GOD is offended at them, and will punish a whole Nation for suffering them to live among them. The Proofs to justify these Apprehensions are always fetch'd from the Old Testament, for a very good Reason, because there are none in the new: But how fantastical and perverse are Men's Judgments concerning an Affair which seems to require the utmost Impartiality!

IN some Protestant Countries Men shall be banish'd, and have their Goods confiscated, or else be imprison'd and more severely

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\* *Mr. Claude, in a Letter written from Switzerland, printed at Dort in 1790.*

severely punish'd, because they refuse to believe every Comment some Divines have made on the Gospel, and will not acquiesce in all the Creeds drawn from it by humane Invention, though they believe in CHRIST and his Apostles, and are perswaded, the New Testament, and every Thing contain'd in it, to be the Word of GOD, whilst the same Nation suffers others to build Stately Synagogues where they list, who do not only reject, but likewise despise and scoff at the Gospel and Christianity, as much as the Heathens, and allows a Worship as publick and as undisturb'd as the Church enjoys to Men, whose Religion could have no Being in our Days, if they did not as heartily believe JESUS CHRIST to have been an Impostor, as we do *Mohomet.*

IF this Plea of the Apprehension, that GOD's Judgment will follow on the Toleration of Heresy and Infidelity, had any Sincerity in it, would not Christians, more especially Protestants, make a Difference between those whom they disagree with in the very fundamentals of Religion, and others, who profess the same Faith in every Article, and only differ from them in Church Government, and outward Ceremonies? And could a Na  
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tional Clergy behold Christian Princes confer Honours, and consequently publick Marks of Esteem on Jews without the least Complaint, and at the same time be as loud as Thunder in pressing them to degrade Presbyterians? But Jews cannot interfere with the Temporal Interest of the National Clergy; Schismaticks may. Here is the Danger; from this Corner the Evil is expected which they dread.

WE often value our selves on our Zeal against Popery, and that no Protestant Church has produced more able Divines to oppose it, and refute the Champions of it, than that of *England*. This is true, and no Protestants have stood more in need of them; for the Court of *Rome* has taken more Pains to regain this Kingdom than they have bestowed on any other Protestant Country. But when that is over, and the danger of Popery seems to be remov'd further off, our Clergy exert themselves with the same Warmth against any other Adversary who dares to dissent from them, and by denying their Authority, rouse their Anger to the great Disturbance of their Tranquility; many of them have not scrupled publickly to profess a greater Aversion to Presbytery, than they had for Popery, and construed the very Proximity of their Opinions, to the Disadvantage of  
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their Antagonists ; alledging, that the less the Difference was between them, the greater must be the Obstinacy of the Dissenters in refusing Conformity.

NATIONAL Churches only love and hate occasionally, as it suits their Interest, and as every Vice is made the worst, when it is particularly preach'd against, so every Adversary of a National Church becomes the blackest in his Turn, when the Clergy have a Mind more directly to vent their Anger against him. Murder and Adultery are heinous Crimes ; but what is worse than Schism ?— But supposing it to be such a damnable Sin, as is told us with so much Heat and Violence, it can only be so to those who are the Occasion of it.

If a Man, led away by Ambition, Revenge, or any other Passion to be gratified, separates himself from the Communion he belong'd to for a Trifle, infuses his Notions into others, and endeavouring to gain Profelytes to his Opinion, by all imaginable Cunning, draws great Numbers from the National and Establish'd Church, his Crime is unpardonable and himself a wicked Seducer of the People. We will suppose likewise that his Followers, who ran astray with him, are involv'd

in part of his Guilt; but it is not, like the Sin of *Adam*, entail'd upon all their Posterity to the World's end.

WHEN a Schism has remain'd for several Generations, has been examin'd, look'd into, and the Sovereign Power, having found it to bring neither Dishonour to *GOD*, nor Detriment to the Society, thinks fit to tolerate it in an authentick Manner, it then becomes a lawful Worship, which it is Criminal to disturb: Nothing is more sacred to People than their Religion; and a conscientious Man, what Sect soever he is of, will always take Care to have his Children, from their Infancy, imbued with the Doctrine which himself prefers to all others, and never suffer them to attend any other Worship than what, in his Opinion, is the most acceptable to *GOD*. Men would not have Children disobey their Parents, or a Pupil his Governor, and before they are capable of judging for themselves, rather follow a Stranger, than those who are entrusted with their Education.

WHEN People are arrived to Years of Discretion, and begin to perceive they have been brought up in an Error, there is no doubt but they ought to leave it; and if, being convinc'd of it, they persist in it, they

they commit a Sin ; but how shall we be sure that they are convine'd of their Error, and how shall we know that their Scruples are not really Conscientious? A National Church seldom acknowledges the Sincerity of Schismatics ; no Proofs are convincing. When they have made Oath of it, the Orthodox have told them they were perjur'd ; nay, should they seal their Testimony with their Blood, and dye for their Faith, they must expect only to be laugh'd at for their pains ; for a Schismatick can be no \* Martyr. Great Numbers of Marcionites, and † other Hereticks, that were persecuted by the Orthodox of the Primitive Church, suffer'd Death for their Opinions with great Constancy ; but they never were stiled Martyrs but by their own Sects.

THE Crown of Martyrdom can only be attain'd to by the Orthodox : All the Books of Martyrs of the Protestants are despis'd and scoff'd at by the Church of Rome, and the vast Multitudes she has massacred for the Reformed Religion in England, France, and other Parts of Europe, are in her Language no more than obstinate Hereticks, that have been punish'd for their Impieties. It was not long be-

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\* Cyprian. de unitate, Epist. 52. ad Antonian.  
 † Ensch. and see Maimbourg's History of Calvinism.

fore the Protestants imitated the Church of *Rome*, and the Lutherans in *Saxony*, and the Calvinists in *Holland*, have treated the Anabaptists in the same manner: These Schismatics in the beginning of the sixteenth Century have published two Books of Martyrs, one at *Harlem* and another at *Horn*, in which they complain as much of the Tyranny of the Lutherans and Calvinists, as they do of the Papists: But they have receiv'd the same Answer, that has been given to all Hereticks a great many hundred Years ago, which is the Saying of St. Cyprian, *That \* it is not the Punishment but the Cause, that makes the Martyr*. And what National Church will allow the Cause of Schismatics to be a good one?

THE generality of Men are so wedded, to and so obstinately fond of their own Opinion, and a Doctrine they have been imbued with from their Cradle, that they cannot think any one sincere, who being acquainted with it, refuses to embrace it. This holds in all Religions, the Mahometan, and most absurd of the Pagans not excepted.

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\* Cyprian ubi supra.

As there is nothing humane Minds may more widely differ in than in what concerns Religious Matters, so there is no Opinion so monstrously despicable, but some may adhere to it with Zeal and Sincerity; whilst others with the same Sincerity may have Sentiments not perfectly agreeing with any Opinion, that is known. About the middle of the last Century, whilst the Trinitarians were accusing one another of believing Tritheism, and the Unity of GOD, was strenuously asserted among the Protestants the Chevalier *Borri* \* started a Notion among the Roman Catholicks, that the Virgin *Mary* was a real Goddess, and a fourth Person in the Divinity. The Emperor *Alexander* had in his Palace an Oration, † where he went early in the Morning to practise Religious Ceremonies in honour of the Patrons he had made Choice of. Here he had, with the Effigies of his Ancestors, those of very good Princes, who had been deify'd, and other holy Men, and among them *Apollonius Tyaneus*, JESUS CHRIST, *Abraham*, *Orpheus*, and such like Gods, says my Author. Nothing can be more unaccountable than the mix'd Worship of

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\* He was burnt in Effigy at Rome, with his Writings, by the Hands of the Executioner, January 3. 1661. *Vita de Cavagliere Borri.*

† *Lamprid. in Alexand. Severo.*

that Emperor, or the Notion he must have had of the Deity; yet *Lampridius*, who wrote his Life, and informs us of this, speaks of him as of a virtuous, sincere and devout Prince.

THE famous \**Hugo Grotius* had for many Years before his Death not been of any Communion at all, † for which some have had a very ill Opinion of him, and call him Atheist, but a learned Apologist ‖ of that great Man has demonstrated how unjust as well as uncharitable, it is to fancy, that a Man has no Religion, when he joyns with none of the Factions that condemn Mankind, and each of which pretends to be the only Church of CHRIST. Fear and Superstition may make Men fly to Devotions, that are inconsistent together, and a penetrating Judgment may have Scruples which others cannot see, yet both act with Sincerity.

ONE of the greatest Reasons, why Schismatics and Dissenters are call'd Hypocrites by the Orthodox, is, because, generally speaking, they lead better Lives,  
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\* See a Book call'd, *Sentiments de quelques Theologiens d'Hollande.*

† Idem.

‖ Idem.

or at least are more circumspect in their Language and Behaviour. Those who would reform more strictly than others, must shew it in something: This nettles the Orthodox, because they are oblig'd by it either to be more upon their Guard themselves, or else run the risk of being thought worse of than those they condemn. Wherefore to avoid the ill Opinion of others and likewise the trouble they find in Amendment, they call their Adversaries Hypocrites, in hopes that by undervaluing the strictness of their Manners, they shall conceal the Turpitude of their own.

How designedly soever Virtue and Piety may be counterfeited by some crafty Deceivers, many of their Followers drawn in by outward Appearances, may set about reforming themselves in good Earnest, vast Multitudes may be new modell'd and reform'd after this manner by Art and Assiduity. The Prince of *Conde's* Army in *France* had more devout Men, and was infinitely less corrupt in Manners than the Leaguers, and the Round-heads of *Oliver Cromwel* were much less debauch'd than the Cavaliers of the King. Such Reformatations may last for a while, but human Nature will relapse in time, and Power,

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Authority, Victory and Success, can never fail of relaxing Mens Morals.

BUT if Hypocrisy be not laid to the Charge of Schismatics, their Actions at least, even the best are discommended, if not misconstrued, and they can do nothing that is Praise-worthy in the Eyes of the Orthodox. During the Persecution the Anabaptists labour'd under beyond Sea, above an Hundred and fifty Years ago, a moderate Calvinist \* enquiring into the Reason how these deluded People could gain so many Profelites, named three Things, which he assigned as the chief Cause of their perverting and seducing such great Numbers. The continual Quotations of Scripture Texts their Teachers made use of, the great Shew they made of outward Holiness, and their Constancy in Suffering and Dying. By the first, he says, they make the poor ignorant People stand amaz'd, and imagine them to be great Doctors, though what they quote is without Sense, Judgment or Reason: But he desires th m to consider, that there never was any Heretick in the World, but what made use of the Scripture, corrupting and wresting it to maintain his Blasphemies, though

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\* Guy de Bres, Racine source & Fondement des Anabaptistes.

though the Scripture gives no Ground for Errors and Heresies; but that they proceed from a quite contrary Cause, as CHRIST says, and here he quotes these Words of our Saviour. *Do you not therefore err, because you know not the Scriptures?*

As to the second Thing by which they seduced silly People, their pretended Holiness, he proves by some Examples, that it is often the Character of false Doctors, To solve the third, he gives them the Answer of St. Cyprian, which I have quoted above; and as for the rest, treats them with Pity and Contempt. The Roman Catholicks have done the very same to the Hugonots in *France*: The Reformed they said, spoke of nothing but of the Bible, and quoted it continually. They were against Dancing, fine Cloaths, going to the Tavern, &c. and many of them suffer'd with Constancy for their Religion. The Difficulties were the same, and so were the Answers to solve them. There are other Countries, and of Protestants too, where the Usage of the Orthodox to the Schismaticks has not been very unlike to what I have mention'd. It is deplorable, that the Protestants are forc'd to make use of the same Arguments against their Schismaticks, which the Papists before have used

used against the Protestants, and which so many Reform'd Divines have so successfully, and so often refuted.

IT is evident then, that there is no Characteristick to distinguish and know a true Church from a false one. The Arguments for Tolleration or Persecution, as they are occasionally wanted, are the same in the one, as they are in the other, in the Behaviour likewise between National Churches, and those who dissent from them; Countries differ but little. The Language and Actions are very near the same throughout Christendom. The Schismatics reject all humane Authority, quote Scripture, talk of Reason, and desire Tolleration: The Orthodox stand upon their Prerogative of Eldership, punishing of Hereticks, and desire the Assistance of the Secular Arm: Whenever the Schismatics can make their Opinion National, they are Orthodox, and serve all other Innovators, just as they were serv'd before.

EVERY Body knows how heartily the *French* Protestants cry'd out for Tolleration in their last Persecution; they would have been satisfy'd with a bare Connivance, a Sufferance under Penalties, or any Thing in the World to save their Lives and Estates,

states, without renouncing their Religion. Yet some of them, who had narrowly escap'd the watchful Dragoons, and thought it a happiness to become Fugitives and Refugees in Foreign Countries, chang'd immediately with their Circumstances their tollerating Tempers; and one \* of them, who has made himself much talk'd of on † another account, as soon as he was establish'd in a great City of *Holland*, † openly preach'd and excited the Civil Power to Persecution with great Violence, not only against the Socinians, but likewise the Arminians, or as they call themselves, Remonstrants, which later are very numerous in that place.

He told the Magistrate, that it was their duty to extirpate Heresy and Infidelity, that the true Church could not flourish without the support of the secular Arm, and that Christianity it self could not have spread, as it has done, if Christian Emperors and other Princes had not assisted the Propagation of it by destroying the Heathen Idols, distressing their Priests, and demolishing their Temples. What benefit  
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\* Peter Jurieu.

† *A Prophecy of the Destruction of the World, which prov'd false during his Life time.*

‡ Rotterdam.

*of the Gods, and be made sensible of their Mercies.*

How many Flatterers of persecuting Tyrants have in later times Copy'd after this Pagan, I shall not stay to examine; This I know, that what I have quoted would with little alteration have serv'd a Member of the Academy of Sciences, in his Addresses to the late grand Monarchy after his Extirpation of Schism. But the chief use I would make of it is, to shew the Possibility, that National Churches may treat their Betters with Contempt; That it is no new thing for Persecutors to pretend the good of Mens Souls, and their general happiness; and that no Monstrousness or Absurdity in Publick Worship, or Establish'd Opinions, can ever hinder the Champions of them from insulting, and assuming Airs of Superiority over Schismatics, tho' of the most rational, and solid Principles.

I am very much mistaken, if a serious reflection on what has been said hitherto, will not furnish a thinking Man, with many Arguments for Tolleration; what I began this Chapter with is none of the least, I mean, that Schism, where once it has been suffer'd, can never be cur'd, but by an utter Extirpation of the Limbs in-  
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fected, and a stedly Cruelty, Zealously pursued without pitty or remorse. That this is not my own private Opinion, one of the most Polite Authors of the Age shall witness. \* *Nothing* (says he) *is more ridiculous in respect of Policy, or so wrong and odious in respect of common humanity, as a moderate and half way Persecution. It only frets the Sore; it raises the ill humour of Mankind; excites the keener Spirits; moves Indignation in Beholders; and sows the very Seeds of Schism in Men's bosoms. A resolute and bold fac'd Persecution leaves no time or scope for these engendring Distempers, or gathering ill Humours. It does the work at once; by Extirpation, Banishment, or Massacre, and like a bold stroke in Surgery, dispatches by one short Amputation, what a bungling hand would make worse and worse to the perpetual sufferance and misery of the Patient.*

IN Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where an Heretick is knock'd down the moment he rises, and the Church has a proper Power obey'd by the Government, to enquire into a Man's Conscience before he opens his Mouth, and punish him for what her Holy Officers shall fancy him to think. A strict Conformity in manner of Worship, once

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\* Lord Shaftsbury's Characterist, 3 vol.

once establish'd, may be maintain'd with little Bloodshed: Otherwise it is never to be procur'd, but by the Remedy prescrib'd; *viz.* the utmost Violence and Barbarity.

IT is evident then that the Method now in use among the Protestant Churches, to destroy Schism is wrong; that their endeavours are fruitless, and as little likely to meet with Success, as would be a Man's Labour, who to make another his Friend, should load him with Calumnies, and slip no opportunity to vex him. The bold Reformers, that could sway a State are defunct. The Ages grow Wiser, and Bigotry now is a Rarity in Princes, The Reform'd Clergy have given up their Strength by their own Act and Deed. Men only expose themselves by threatening, what every body knows they can't execute. Reasoning, good Humour and Perswasions are more likely to convince Men, and draw them from their Errors, than Menaces without Power. \* *Mere threats, says the learned Nobleman I just now quoted, without Power of Execution, are only exasperating and provocative. They who are masters of the Carnal as well as the Spiritual weapons, may apply each as their pleasure, and*

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\* *Idem.*

in what proportion they think necessary. . But where the Magistrate resolves steadily to reserve his Fasces for his own proper Province, and keep the edge Tools and deadly Instruments out of other hands, 'tis in vain for Spiritual Pretenders to take such magisterial Airts. It can then only become them to brandish such Arms, when they have strength enough to make the Magistrate resign his Office, and become Provost, or Executioner, in their Service.

But the greatest Argument for Toleration is, that differences in Opinion can do no hurt, if all Clergy-men are kept in awe, and no more independent on the State than the Laity; whereas the Calamities that may attend Persecution, are endless. I am not Ignorant of the Mischiefs, that are to be apprehended from an excessive Toleration, accompany'd with, or perhaps proceeding from, a Remisness in the Government; but this ought to be avoided as much as Persecution. Besides, when I speak up for a Toleration of different Sects, I mean only, such as shall own the Government to be the supream Authority upon Earth, both in Church and State, and have no other Master abroad, that may make them Plot against our Safety. It is on this Head only that Papists and *Non Jurors* ought to be excluded, but this being the Business of



the State, the Clergy has nothing to do with it.

IT is the Government and the Ministry of it, which ought to be watchful, and take care that the Publick receives no detriment from subtle Stratagems carried on under Religious pretences. I can't help thinking in this place on the innumerable Treacheries of Christians, and the execrable manner, in which Christianity has been propagated by the modern Apostles. That scanty Portion which *America* has been blest'd with, costs them, besides all their immense Treasure, vast Dominions, and their Liberty, by the *Spaniard's* own Confession, the Lives of Twenty Millions of *Indians*.

A *Spaniard* † being ask'd by the King of *Tossa*, how the King of *Spain* became Master of so great Tracts of Land in both Hemispheres, he too honestly answer'd, That he sent Monks to Preach the Gospel in Foreign Nations, and that after they had Converted a good number of Pagans, he sent his Troops, which joining with the new Christians, subdued the Country. This happen'd  
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\* *Histoir. des ouvrages des Savans. Sept. 1691.*

in *Japan*, and gave a plausible pretence to the *Bonzes* to Sollicit the extirpation of the *Christians*; which was executed, and has very much encreas'd the *Martyrology* \* of the *Jesuits*, by whose Industry great numbers of the Inhabitants had already embraced the Gospel. The *Japonefe*, it is certain, understood not their Spiritual Interest. But considering that these Idolaters knew not the true God, and the instructive example they had of our Conversions, and the fruits of them; before their Eyes, I don't see, how we can blame their Politicks, when they had nothing; but either an Active or a Passive Persecution to thine.

If this be a Digression, I hope, it will not be thought an unprofitable one, as long as it represents to us the necessity all Governments lye under, of guarding themselves against the manifold Machinations, which under the false appearances of Piety and Devotion, must be destructive to the State. I would have it likewise serve to satisfy the Reader, that, when I advise the Laity to keep the Clergy in awe, I mean all Clergy-men and Religious Teachers in general, and would by no means exclude the Dissenters. No Discourses nor

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\* *Ecclel. Hist. of Japan.* By Francis Solier, a Jesuit.

even Prayers, which have the least tendency to Sedition, should be suffer'd in any Assembly: 'Tis the business of a careful Ministry to look into these Matters, and the least Conventicle ought not to be neglected.

WHEN Laymen, who cannot Comply with, either the Doctrine or Rites of a Church by Law establish'd, are not stinted in their Birth-right, but enjoy all the Temporal Privileges and Immunities in common with other Subjects, they ought to ask for no more, as to Spiritual Matters, than that they may think what they please, serve GOD their own way without being disturb'd, be instructed by Teachers of their own Choice, and have the liberty of building Houses for Divine Worship, when and where they think fit. If they make higher demands, which no Layman would of himself, they ought to be deny'd and rebuk'd, and their Teachers, who put them upon it, corrected.

A good Government in all Countries pays a deference to the National Church, and no Liberty of Conscience ought to interfere with her just Rights. The publick Temples and Schools ought to be sacred to her, and their Revenues unquestionably due to those only who teach her  
 Doctrine.

trine. If it be objected, that from what I have already proved from the Temptation of the Clergy in general, it must necessarily follow, that, where there is so great a Toleration, the Dissenters will still be encroaching, and never leave undisturbed the National Church, and that what has been said may be again, I readily answer, that this never was nor can be done, unless the Laity join with their Clergy in opposition, which I would prevent.

It is to deter Men from this I take pains. Had the Laity refus'd to pull down the *Persian Temple*, when *Abdast* demolish'd them, the Christians would have prevented a cruel Persecution. The business of Clergy-men is to teach us our several Duties toward God and Man, to assist us in the performances of Religious Worships, and shew us the way to Salvation: Whenever they talk to us of other matters, by way of Instruction, they exceed their Commission. But if at any time they would persuade or exhort us to any thing, that may be destructive to the public Tranquillity, or lessening the Authority of the Government; or mutual Concord, we ought immediately to leave them, or resolve to be deaf to all the flights of their Wit or Eloquence, that might charm or seduce us.

ONCE for all, the Gospel teaches us Obedience to Superiors, and Charity to all Men, and if the Ministers of it will, to their own Damnation, Preach Seditiously, and be the Trumpeters of Rebellion, it is not our fault; but it is in our power to hearken to, or despise them, as then they deserve we should. And what madness is it to listen to the *Syren's* Song, when she turns her Voice for our destruction. Civil Wars may begin in the Pulpit, but they are not decided there. All the Losses and Calamities of them fall upon the People. The Clergy may sound to Battle, but the Laity must fight it out. It is in vain likewise to ask what Principle the Clergy are of, or whether they belong to a National, or tolerated Church, when once they are incens'd. In *France* the Lawfulness of killing of Heretick Princes, and Passive Obedience have been preach'd and maintain'd by the same People in less than two Years time. Whoever is openly insincere cannot ask that we should believe him, and all who stand up for the Doctrine of Passive Obedience to the Civil Powers in being, from a Principle of Christianity, will never be active in offending it.

THE difference in the Principles of the Clergy is not so great as many imagine, and to understand them is of no use to the  
Laity

Laity in any Country, when once they come to fight for them; for when half of a Nation is Massacred by mutual fury, the desolate remainder will find but little comfort in knowing which Party began the Quarrel. There are Eye-witnesses yet alive of our past Misfortunes, and Confusions from intestine broils: May no Futurity behold any other! But let us endeavour to forget them, and no Pen be ever more employ'd to clear the doubtfulness of their Causes. We may under a Discipline less Melancholly learn Wisdom from the Folly of our Neighbours.

IT will by many be thought injudicious, not to have ended this Chapter before now; but a Reader as calm as my self will have Patience, before we leave it, to read two or three Scraps of History, which are not foreign to our purpose.

THE Leapings \* of *Macon* are very famous in *France*, and have been mentioned by more Authors, than the Cruelties of *Tiberius* in the Isle of † *Caprea*. The Place I speak of, is a City upon the *Soane* in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

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\* Call'd in French, *Sauteries de Macon*.

† *Suetonius* in *Tiberio*.

The || *Hugonots* in the Religious Wars in the Year 1562, made themselves Masters of it by Force, broke down the Images of the Churches, and suppress'd the Romish Religion. They took it in *May*, and it was retaken by the Roman Catholics in *August*, during which small time a vast Treasure was heap'd up in it. It was Sack'd and Plundered; the exercise of the Romish Religion was restor'd, and the Priests and Monks with their Whores, of which they had abundance, return'd to their former State. To compleat the Misfortunes of the Reform'd, the Government was given to *St. Point*, a Man of a Sanguinary and Cruel Temper, who for his Pastime, after he had feasted the Ladies, was us'd to ask, whether the Farce, which was call'd the Farce of *St. Point*, was ready to be acted. This was, as it were, the watch Word, by which his People were wont to bring out one or two Prisoners, and sometimes more, whom they carry'd to the Bridge of the *Soane*; and when they appear'd there with their Wives, after he had ask'd them some pretty and pleasant Questions, he caus'd them to be thrown down head long and drown'd in the River. It was also a usual thing,

sling, to give false Alarms, and upon that pretence to Shoot some Prisoner, or any other of the Reform'd Religion whom he could catch, charging them with a design to betray the City.

THE Hugonots perhaps might flatter themselves with a Notion that (as this was done by Papists) Protestants could not be guilty of such Enormities; if they had not upon Record the barbarous Treatment which the Garrison of \* *Monbrisson*, who, having compounded to Surrender the Town, was retir'd into the Castle, received from a † Protestant General; who would divert himself with seeing those miserable Soldiers precipitated. They were brought to the top of the Platform above the Tower; Those, who had not the Courage to precipitate themselves were cast down headlong, and not so much as their Chief, the brave *Monceles* was pardon'd. It is reported likewise, that the Baron's Soldiers, as barbarous as their General, receiv'd those, who were thrown down from the Tower, with horrid Cries and

\* Varillas Hist. de Charles IX.

† Francis de Beaumont Baron des Adrets; one of the Noblemen, whose Courage and Military Actions made the greatest use in the Religious Wars under Charles IX.



and Shouts upon the Points of their Halberds and Pikes.

THIS was done contrary to a solemn Capitulation, and all the excuse that was made for this breach of the Publick Faith, was, what, after the first unkindness shewn on either side, becomes immediately the common Plea in all Civil Wars, Reprisals, What he did, the Baron said, was to Revenge in part the Barbarities that had been committed after the Sacking of *Orange*: That City indeed had been the Scene of Triumphant and Elaborate Cruelty, and all those, who had the Misfortune to outlive the first Fury, and fell not by merciful Massacre, were reserv'd for exquisite Torments, and the most shameful Abuses and Mutilations. So ingenious was their Barbarity, that to shew Emblematically, that their Quarrels were Religious, several Protestants of both Sexes were put to the Fire, larded with slips of Paper torn from *Geneva* Bibles.

THESE are some of the Fruits of the large Crop, that may be gather'd from Religious Quarrels, the certain and undoubted Offspring of the intemperate Discourses of Seditious Priests, of either side, which if hearken'd to by the Laity, can never fail of plunging them into Civil Wars.

**Wars.** Oh! had I Skill and Eloquence to describe them in their full and terrible Extent, and inspire my Readers with a Horror and Detestation, sufficient to guard them against the first approaches, and make them shrink from the remotest Tendencies to those unhappy wretched Times, in which Trade and all Commerce are Dead, and no Merchandize valuable, that cannot be employ'd for the destruction of ones Country! When Wealth and Property are precarious, and nothing certain but Ruin and Devastation; when all Arts and Sciences languish, and are shov'd aside by Rudeness and Brutality, and no Wit or Ingenuity applauded, but what teaches Men how to be inhuman; till at last the utmost Barbarity and refined Cruelties become the diversion of the most Polite.





## C H A P. X.

### *Of the Reciprocal Duties, between the Clergy and the Laity.*



**A**S in all Universities, Precedency, above other Faculties, is given to that of Theology; so the Function of a Divine, the Ministry of the Gospel is an Employment to which every Member of the Society ought to pay Deference and Respect; and moreover, every Clergy-man, who discharges his Duty as he should do, has a just Title to the Love and Affection, as well as Veneration and Esteem of the Publick. In this Place many perhaps will suspect my Sincerity, and be ready to tell me, that had my design been to procure the Clergy the Favour or Affection of the Laity; I would have set them in another  
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Light than I have done. To remove this Suspicion, I must put the Reader in mind, that to judge impartially, we ought to be acquainted with the wrong side of Things as well as the right, and that all Men ought to be consider'd two different ways.

FIRST as to their Occupation, the Station of Life which either Choice or Necessity has put them in. And here we chiefly mind the Usefulness and Dignity of their Callings, their Capacities, with all Qualifications requir'd for the Exercise or Performance of their Functions. In this View we have no Regard for the Persons themselves, but only the Benefit they may be of to the Publick, if they please and their Service be wanted; and they are only look'd upon as Parts and Members of the whole Society.

SECONDLY, every Person is to be consider'd as an entire Individual, a wonderful Machine, endued with Thought and a Will independent from any thing visible from without. In this View we look upon him as a necessitous Being, that is subject to Hunger and Thirst, and has many Passions to gratify, and at the same time a vast Compound, a lesser World, with a Sovereignty, and Court of Judicature within,

within, that has a private Welfare and Preservation of its own to mind, altogether abstract from the Good of the Publick.

**M**EN are naturally selfish, untuly, and headstrong Creatures, what makes them Sociable is their Necessity and Consciousness of standing in need of each others Help to make Life comfortable; and what makes this Assistance Voluntary and lasting are the Gains or Profit accruing to Industry for Services done to others, which in a well ordered Society enables every Body, who in some thing or other will be Serviceable to the Publick, to purchase the Assistance of others. And as all the Conveniences, and chief Comforts of Life depend, in a great Measure, on the Labour and Services of others, so he that is able to purchase most of them, is in the vogue of the World, reckoned the most happy.

**T**HIS usefulness of setting all Mankind in these two different Views, will soon appear, if we but consult our own Experience, and take Notice of what all Mankind seems the most inclin'd to, All the World agrees, that the good of the whole Society, or the Majority of it, ought to be prefer'd to the Advantages of private Persons, yet every Body may find

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find, that he loves himself better than he does others. Nay, we are taught to do so, from our Infancy; the first thing our Nurses bid us is to take care of our selves. The same Charge we receive a thousand times over from our Parents, Tutors, and all that are entrusted with our Education. As soon as we trust Children with Money, we teach them to keep it. When young Men talk of marrying, we bid them look out for a Fortune, and blame them, if they disregard it. A prudent Father may caution his Son against Cowardice, Fraud or sordid Avarice, because those Vices make Men despis'd in the World, but he won't bid him lavish away his Money, or be unkindful of his Safety.

ALL Men are taught to display themselves to the best Advantage, to defend themselves against Injustice and Oppression, not to be Neglectful of their Estate, their Dignity, or their Reputation in the World. This is call'd humane Prudence, and all the heroick Flights of Love and Friendship, publick Spiritu'dness to ones Ruin, and the Contempt of Death to any Extreme, are look'd upon as Romantick Notions only fit for Knight-Errantry, and are laugh'd bur of Countenance by the wiser sort of People. A good Man it is likely will wish that his Children may be useful in their  
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Generation, and become remarkably Beneficial to their Country; and this he may do very heartily for theirs and his own sake; but whilst he is consulting what Profession or Employment he is to bring them up to, what he looks for is to procure them a Livelihood; his chief View is their Maintenance and Establishment, with little Regard to the Publick.

HISTORY and Experience teach us, that in pursuance of the Maxims of this worldly Wisdom, most Men have in all Ages beheld themselves in the second View, and every Body looks upon his own dear Person, as an individual, if not independent Being, which he is oblig'd every way to gratify and take care of, almost forgetting that they are Members of the Society. Men can't help thinking, that their Employment, and the Dignity of it, are as much their own as their Parts and Features; for which reason the Generality of them convert the whole Produce, the Splendour, the Authority, and all Profits and Emoluments accruing from both to their own private Use and Advantage, and moreover count themselves good honest Men, if they endeavour not to make more of either than common Custom, Decency, and the Laws of the Land allow of.

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W e ought therefore to distinguish between the Design of an Employment in its Original, and what it may be degenerated into, between the real use and worth of a Calling and what it may be perverted to; and when ever it is objected, that the Laity can have no Reason nor the least Inducement to love and esteem the Clergy for what I have represented them to be, for six Chapters together, I shall answer, that the same may be said of all Professions, when we look upon the wrong side of them.

How can we like Lawyers, who, if they dislike their Fee, will neglect a Cause, where your whole Welfare, and perhaps the Life of an innocent Man is at stake; or Physicians, who for the same Reason will leave you to your self in a most dangerous Illness, and let you dye rather than not gratify either their Avarice or their Pride? These things are often done, and chiefly by the most eminent in both Professions.

No Joy is perfect, and nothing is complete upon Earth. The best of Things are liable to Flaws and Inconveniencies. Men have been choak'd with Bread. But what the Necessity of humane Affairs requires, the Society cannot be without. An Army of the best Soldiers in the World



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is insignificant without a good General yet, when they are disgusted, they'll leave their Country exposed to the most imminent Danger, and fight against it: But then on the other hand, how often has a General, in the most critical Juncture, saved his Country from Perdition. Lawyers likewise and Physicians are of great Use to the Publick; many Cases made intricate by Villainous Craft, are by able Pleaders set in their true Light, in favour of Justice and Honesty. The Estates of Widows and Orphans are often retriev'd by the Vigilance and Penetration of a learned Council, and rescu'd from the Usurpation of the Mighty, that without such an Assistance would have been lost for ever. Then what a saviour was the Lawyer! So the most dangerous Distempers are daily cur'd by the knowing, sagacious Physician, that without his Help would, in all human Probability, have prov'd Mortal. When this happens to a great and industrious Trader at a time his Death would have been the Ruin of several thriving Families, or a Man, whose Life afterwards proves Advantageous to the Publick in an extraordinary manner; then what a Blessing, and how God-like was the Physician who saved him!

**BUT**

BUT if Health and Estate are dear to us in this short Stage of Life, we ought to have a much greater Regard for a Futurity, which shall last for ever. Few have Leisure and Ability both to read and examine the Scriptures, as they ought, for the thorough understanding of them; and all have not Knowledge sufficient to work out their own Salvation. Vice should be continually expos'd, and Sinners reprov'd, and there is hardly a Christian so mindful of his Duty, as never to stand in need of Admonition, or that he wants not sometimes to be exhorted to true Piety and good Actions. The rude Multitude should be made acquainted with the Heinousness of Sin, and those on whom the Love of God has little Influence, and the Joys of Heaven make no Impression, ought to be fear'd from Evil-doing by the Terrors of Hell: For this Reason, no Calling or Profession is so generally useful to a Christian Nation, as the Ministry of the Gospel, and no Set of Men more absolutely necessary than Spiritual Guides, to lead us in the difficult Path of virtue, and shew us the Way to eternal Happiness.

MANY will wonder, why I should go so far about to tell them what few People doubt of, that the Function of Divines deserves the highest Respect, and is in, Dig-

nity, superiour to all other Professions: But I desire those superficial Judges to consider, that this was not the only Thing I had to mind. I very well knew what, in the foregoing Chapters, I had said against the Clergy, and how I have, in many Places endeavour'd to demonstrate, that soon after the Time of the Apostles, the holy Order, set up by those true Divines, degenerated from its glorious Original, and that the Christian Clergy, when once the Ministry of the Gospel became a publick Calling, an Employ which Men were brought up to for a Livelihood, soon imitated the Examples before them, behaved themselves like other Priests, and studying more their own Temporal Advantage than the Spiritual Good of others, made their holy Function, contrary to the Intent of it, subservient to their own Personal Greatness, Authority, and other worldly Ends, and very often to the worst of Purposes.

THIS, I say, I knew very well; and as I was likewise conscious to my self, that I had not done it with a Design to render the Clergy odious, I was resolv'd not to remain under the Suspicion of it, and therefore was forc'd, to avoid an Imputation I did not deserve, to search further into humane Nature, and the Origin  
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of Society it self, than otherwise there would have been occasion for; that the Knowledge of what passes in every ones own Breast, might convince them, that I have said nothing of the Clergy but what ought to be expected from all Mankind under the same Circumstances and Temptations.

W e see, that every Body makes the most of his Business for himself; that those of the same Profession often combine together and form themselves into Companies and Societies, to consult and promote the general Interest and Welfare of their Profession, in order to render it as profitable and honourable to themselves as it is possible: That, though the publick Good is the specious Pretence for erecting of those Companies, what the Governors and Directors of them chiefly aim and drive at, is, next to their private Interest, the Profit and Advantage of the particular Company they belong to: That Sovereigns are not ignorant of this, is manifest from the Restriction made use of, when they grant any Corporation the Privilege to make Laws and Regulations of their own, which is always done with a Proviso, That they shall enact none that are clashing, or any ways interfere with the Laws of the Country, of which, if there was

no Danger, it would never be mentioned.

THOSE who understand the World, know, that there is a Mysterious part in every Trade and Profession, beneficial to those only that are of it, and which moreover is absolutely useles, if not detrimental to all the reit of the Society. Therefore every Shop-keeper has his Mark, which is allowed to be a Secret, and to enquire into it, or but seem desirous of knowing it, is unmannerly and impertinent. The intrinick Value and prime Cost of Things is what all Sellers endeavour with the utmost care to conceal from the Buyers.

IF the Spiritual Power of the Clergy be, in vulgar Esteem, somewhat greater than they are in reality possess'd of, it is an Heroick Piece of Honesty in a Clergyman to disclaim it for himself, but to acquaint the Laity with this, and undeceive Mankind, though it may not perhaps be prejudicial to Religion itself, it can be no friendly Office to the Clergy. If we judge of others by our selves, we cannot think it pleasant to any Profession to have their Mysteries reveal'd. The Poor have as much *Venice Treacle* for a Penny, as will make two Half Crown Bolusses, if a Physician prescribes them to an Alderman: This

This is very true, and the divulging it cannot do the least Prejudice to any Body's Health whatever; yet no Body expects to hear of it from an Apothecary, and I am mistaken if the whole Company would not call any of their Fraternity a false Brother, who should advertise it to the Publick, more especially if he did it after he was made a Physician.

AND as to the Credit and Dignity of Employments, though the Followers of it have vastly deviated from the first Institution, yet we see they are ever fond of retaining, even when the Thing itself is gone, if not the Reputation, at least the Name of their honourable Original; as Men of Birth, and no Merit, are proud of the Titles that were given as a Reward to their deserving Ancestors. The Great Men of ancient *Rome* took inferiour Citizens into their Favour and Protection: They pleaded their Cause before the Senate, if they stood in need of it, and assisted them, on all Occasions, with their Advice and Authority, their Eloquence, and often their Purse. Those who enjoy'd the Benefit of so generous a Friendship, were call'd Clients, and the honourable Name of Patrons was given to those noble Benefactors. This Custom has been out of Doors a great many Ages, and pleading of Causes

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has been a mercenary Employment Time out of Mind, that Men are brought up to for a Livelihood; yet the Names of Patron and Client are still retain'd by our modern Lawyers, and 'tis not only, that the learn'd Council, who give Advice, and Plead, make use of them, but every little Pettifogger and hanger on of the Law has the Impudence to call the Customers he gets his Bread by, his Clients.

W H Y should not the Clergy have the same Liberty? Why not the Cardinals, in all the Splendor of Ostentatious Luxury; the Bishop of *Munster* at the Head of his Army, or any other Ecclesiastical Prince, celebrating the Carneval in Masquerade, be allow'd to stile themselves the Successors of the Apostles? And why may not the Pope, in all his Pontifical Ornaments, be call'd Successor of St. *Peter*, and Servant of Servants, when he gives Audience to Ambassadors, or receives in State the Adoration of a kneeling Prince; or Vicar of C H R I S T, whilst he lays Claim to the Sovereignty over all the Kingdoms of this World? There is no doubt but that all of them are the Successors of the Apostles, as far as they are concern'd in the Ministry and Promulgation of the Gospel; and they will never leave boasting of it, even if in their Persons, (which is hardly

hardly possible) they should come still to be worse than either they are now, or have been yet.

**T**H**E** Captains, who divided the Spoil of the *Macedonian* Conquest, were the Successors of *Alexander*, though they did not inherit either his Valour or Magnanimity. The most dispicable Crafts-men have their Founders upon Record, if it does Honour to their Occupation, and never forget what once could be said in Praise of their Calling. The Gardener boasts of the Antiquity and Innocence of his Employment, and, when tir'd, finds Relief by thinking how the Father of all Mankind earn'd his Bread. The Wool-comber is proud that he can name a Bishop for the Inventor of his Art. And if you attack a poor Stocking Weaver on the Meanness of his Trade, he'll take the Pains, though half starv'd, to tell you, that he can name you a Nobleman who had serv'd his Time to the Knitting Frame.

**T**H**E** Apostles were the Messengers of **G**O**D**, the Clergy are their Successors, and therefore they ought to be call'd the Messengers of **G**O**D**; but as the same Word, which in *Greek* signifies Messenger, may likewise be translated Ambassador, considering the Veneration due to that  
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Character, and the Dignity of their own Order, most Clergy-men are of Opinion, that instead of Messengers, they should be stil'd Ambassadors of G O D, and on all Occasions they esteem every Body to be their Friend, who entertains the most favourable Sentiments of the Honour, Spiritual Power and Authority of their Profession. What Calling is there of the Laity, that would not do the same? Ambassador is a modern Word, and not sounding a<sup>n</sup>n<sup>i</sup>s; the use of it may easily be allow'd them as a piece of Civility, without looking too narrowly into the real Signification, or drawing Consequences from it prejudicial to the Clergy.

F O R, though every one loves to hear the Profession he belongs to well spoken of for his own sake, few desire it should be to their Cost. If a Man would urge the Original Relation between Patron and Client to one of our most eminent Barristers, it would avail but little; and should he make such a Remonstrance to save a Fee, he would only be laugh'd at for his pains. In like manner, to alledge the Spiritual Wisdom of the Apostles, the powerful Influence of their Preaching, and the many Miracles they wrought as so many Testimonies, that confirm'd the Divinity of their Mission, and require the same Creden<sup>t</sup>ials

dentials of the Clergy, would be thought unreasonable.

YET that the Church of Rome has not slighted this Matter, is evident from their frequent Canonizations, to insinuate, that the same Virtue and Power of the Apostles still continue among her Clergy. She admits of no Saints, unless it be known first, that they have wrought Miracles, either before or after Death. But as the Proofs of them are always made among Friends, the worst of it is, that they are not convincing to their Adversaries, and all the Protestants openly proclaim them to be Forgeries.

HAVING once renou'd an Expedient so long made use of by the Church, the Reform'd Clergy has been forc'd to make Shift without; and to solve all Objections of that Nature, they content themselves with answering, That, though G O D had assisted the first Promulgation of the Gospel with Miracles, and the Apostles had for that purpose, in all their Transactions been influenc'd by his immediate Power, yet after them it had not pleas'd the Divine Wisdom to inspire any of their Successors in so visible a manner. It would likewise be thought too Rigorous to seek for the same Holiness in them, that adorn'd the Lives of  
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the Apostles, the Exemplary Patience with which they underwent all Labour and Difficulties to propagate the Faith, the Contempt of Honour and Riches, their Firmness in Persecution, and Constancy in Death.

THE Clergy are not ashamed before the World to indulge every Appetite they are able to gratify, refuse no Conveniencies of Ease and Luxury, and shew the same Fondness of wordly Pleasures as the Laity; and no less Uneasiness when they are forc'd to go without. Should they be ask'd, if they would practise no Self denial, or shew any Forbearance beyond the Laity, Why so many of them should be Haughty, Covetous, prone to Anger, and violent in their Resentments, and not a few more notoriously Vicious, they would readily tell us, that the good Things of this World were made for the Use of Man, and that the moderate Enjoyment of them was by no humane or divine Precept denied more to the Clergy than the Laity; and for the rest, that we ought to consider, that Clergy men are made of the same Mould, and have the same corrupt Nature with other Men; that they were born with the same Infirmities, and that consequently they were subject to the same Passions, and liable to the same Temptations.

AND

**A**ND if any should be guilty of crying Sins, and be profligately wicked, they would assure us, that it was the highest Injustice to charge this on the whole Order. As to the Scandal such Examples might occasion, that it was only the Ignorant and Unthinking this could be Prejudicial to, and that therefore all wise and considerate Men ought for the sake of Religion itself, and the good of Society in general, rather stifle and help to conceal from Vulgar Eyes, the Frailties of the Clergy, than to proclaim and expose them to the World; and after all, that it was the general Opinion of Protestants, as well as Papists, that the Wickedness of a Clergy-man render'd not his Ministry ineffectual to those of the Laity, who would vouchsafe to be good themselves.

**F**ROM all which it is manifest, that the Clergy would insinuate, that they may be Beneficial to the Society, notwithstanding they are bad Men; that, whilst they trespass not against the Laws or common Decency, we ought not to find Fault with their Lives; and if they do, we ought to connive at them the best we can: We are in the Wrong therefore to look for more intrinsic Worth, Virtue,  
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or Self-denial in the Clergy, than we expect to find in the Laity. It is an Error likewise to imagine, that the Imposition of Hands, or any other Ceremony, adds Holiness to a Clergy-man, or renders the Invocation of the Holy Ghost effectual on a wicked Priest. This is ascribing greater Virtue to Rites of Human Invention, than we really find in the very Sacraments instituted by CHRIST himself; which are often administred to such as prove the greatest Profligates, or else how could Men be perjurd, or commit Adultery, who have been Partakers of the Lord's-Supper, and turn House-breakers and Murderers after they had been baptized?

BUT whatever Excellency the Clergy receive from Ordination, it preserves them not always from committing the worst of Crimes. They have been more talk'd of for Lewdness, than any other Profession; they are not less Covetous, neither do they Envy or Back-bite less, and they Hate worse than the Laity. The Bishops of Rome have been noted for their Luxury \* so long ago, that *Ammianus Marcellinus* has upbraided them with it in his † Time. Many  
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\* *Ammian. Marcell. Histor. Rom. lib. 27.*

† *The Fourth Century.*

Clergy-men have been Drunkards, and for Cruelty, where it has been in their Power to exercise it, theirs has been more remarkable than any other Profession.

IN the Days of St. *Lewis*, when the Clergy had the Power of Life and Death over their Vassals, the Chapter of *Paris* put all the Inhabitants of *Chatenay* in Prison, where, wanting the Necessaries of Life, they were \* in Danger to be starv'd to Death; and several actually dy'd either with Famine or by the Inconveniences they suffer'd by Heat in a Place hardly able to contain them. It is incredible, what the Moors, Jews and Pagans have suffer'd from the Roman Clergy in *Spain*, *Portugal* and *America*; to say nothing of the Assassinations, private Murders, and more publick Massacres: they have been guilty of, under pretence of promoting Orthodoxy, against the humble and credulous Christian Laity.

IN ripping up all these Faults, I have no other design than to convince the Reader, that the Clergy are Men, as others are, neither better nor worse than the Laity;

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\* *Joanville Hist. de St. Louis, &c. 16.*

Laity; and that it is only Fear and Superstition, which for Reasons above \* mentioned, make the Vulgar have a greater Opinion of their Sanctity, and rely on their Influence in Heaven, and Spiritual Power with more Confidence than they deserve. This over-rating of the personal Worth of the Clergy, is the occasion of a double Evil: On the one hand it makes the Laity have greater Expectations of them, than they are either willing or able to answer, and on the other it prompts the Clergy, at the Expence of the Publick Tranquility, to seek their own private Ends with greater Licentiousness, than is allow'd of to any other Calling.

**T**HERE is no Subject among the Laity so great, that Submission and Obedience is not required of him to the Laws and the Supreme Power, because we don't think any so Vertuous or Honest, but that Ambition, Avarice or any other Passion may induce him to prefer his own private advantage to that of the Publick without Justice or Moderation. Both Reason and Experience teach us that we ought not to Judge more favourably of the Clergy:  
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And yet their fair out side and plausible pretences impose upon, and hinder us from rightly distinguishing between that part of their Function, which consists in being serviceable to us in attaining eternal Happiness, and that part of it, which they employ for their Temporal Interest, which is very necessary; for if Mystically they are, the Successors of the Apostles; as to the first, they are more visibly the Successors of the Jewish and Heathen Priests, in regard of the latter. There is no shape nor colour of Dress, no Mien, nor outward Modesty that is indued with any Holiness. A grave look often hides a voluptuous Heart, and a Man may be as wicked with a starch'd Behaviour, and an austere crabbed Countenance, as he can with the most Rakish Air.

VIRTUE is scarce, every where, and a well-bred Man, may as much want real Probity, as the greatest Clown. Porters and Carmen are reckon'd the rudest and most uncivilis'd part of the Nation; the reverse of them, and most Polite part are the Courtiers; yet I don't think, that there is more Religion in a Hundred of the one, than there is in the same number of the other. I am far from thinking, that the Laity are better than the Clergy, yet the one ought to be as dependent on the Go-

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vernment as the other, and neither of them have any Privilege or Community to be Mischievous to the whole. All Lawful Employments are a-like as to Justice and Honesty, and if in any Calling, Men are worse for the generality, than they are in others, it is only, because they have a greater opportunity of being so with impunity. Pride and Ambition are so riveted in our Nature, that there is no Profession, nor no set of Men, but what would Lord it and Tyranize over all the rest if they could.

THE reason why we ought to apprehend the Encroachments of the Clergy more than of any other Profession, is, because they have greater opportunities, and are less mistrusted. When a Man has the power to harangue the Multitude at his pleasure, where it is criminal to interrupt him, it is dangerous that he should have likewise the liberty of saying to them what he pleases, without being liable to be call'd to an account for what he says. Lawyers and Physicians often prove great burdens to a Family; but when Physicians are never sent for, but when we are ill, and whilst GOD gives us health we have nothing to do with them. Lawyers likewise are only made use of on occasion, and many live happily to a great Age without ever employing any. But whether

ther we are Sick or Well, and live in Peace or Discord, the intercourse between the Clergy and the Laity is continual. For, besides their officiating every Day at Divine Service, we can do nothing of moment without them, and they assist us through every Stage of Life. As soon as we are born they come to Christen us, and when the Nurse has had the greatest trouble with us, and we can help our selves, the Clergy desire to have the Tutition of us, till we are Men. The next then to be thought on is Matrimony, which we can't enter into without them. In Sickness they come to Comfort us, and claim a Right to examine our Consciencies when we are in Health. They still visit us on our Death-Beds, even when the Physician has left us; and, after we have taken our leaves of them and the whole World, they won't yet part with us before they have seen us in the Grave.

WHEN all these things are taken in due Consideration, the Clergy carefully restrain'd from doing mischief to the Society, and the publick every way guarded against them, as if they were the worst of Men, I would not have them debarr'd from the Comforts of Life, and they should enjoy the World equally with the Laity. But that no impartial Man may have the least reason, any longer to suspect my Sincerity, and to shew my

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Sentiments in relation of the Reciprocal Duties I treat of, without being Dogmatical, I shall explain my meaning in the following Example.

I don't think it easy to name a great City better govern'd than that of *Amsterdam*. (I beg, no prejudice against the name.) The Behaviour there, between the National Clergy and the Laity, towards each other is very commendable. In the Salary of the Ministers there is a perfect equality; they have about Two Hundreds Pounds Sterling Yearly each, which, without their asking for, is sent home to them by Quarterly Payments in a handsome manner: Besides this the *East-India* Company make them a present every Year of Spices. There is hardly a Minister, who has not some intimacy with Two, Three, or more Families of the Senators, where he is always welcome and treated with the same deference, they pay to one another; on all Solemn Entertainments, this Clergyman graces their Table; and shares with them in most of their Diversions, and what Elegant Comforts of Life a Friend can enjoy that does not live always under the same Roof.

THE Multitude pay them great Respect, and it is counted brutish among the  
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Common People, not to pull off their Hat to a Minister, which is often done even by those, who are not of the publick Church, and is the more remarkable in a Country, where the Vulgar are more fam'd for Self-interest than Civility. To be a Minister of the Publick Church at *Amsterdam* is the highest Post in Presbytery, a *Dutch* Divine can arrive at, and reckon'd so considerable, that, tho' he has not a Groat, if he Marries a Fortune of Eight or Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling, it is counted an equal match: Their Widows have handsome Pensions paid them, whilst they remain single; and their Children have most of the Offices and Places of Profit bestow'd upon them, that are in the Gift of the Magistrate, at least with equal Merit they are generally prefer'd to all others.

WHAT is expected from the Clergy, for this is a Grave Department, and the Solemn Exercise of their Function; by no means to meddle with State Affairs, and with all their faculties endeavour to appear hearty for the Government, and the publick Welfare. They are, whilst in Health, oblig'd to Preach twice a Week, tho' their Sermons commonly last an Hour and a half in the delivery, and often longer. Considering how large the Churches,

and numerous the Audiences are, Preaching is a painful Office, and would be, if the Pleasure of being followed by such vast Multitudes did not help, by gratifying human frailty, to alleviate the Burden, almost insupportable. They are allow'd to inveigh against Sin and the Vices of great Men, as much as they please, without pointing at particular Persons. Taverns, or Coffee-House they never enter into; which how much it contributes to the Veneration the Vulgar has for them, no Clergy can know but what has tried it.

NOT to be tedious, I have omitted several tokens of Esteem and Friendship, which at the Birth of Children, and other times they receive; but one of them is too remarkable not to be mention'd. At Publick Rejoycings, when Bonfires are made for Peace or Victory, the Magistrate sends into every Minister a handsome quantity of Wine, and in the Evening a certain number of Pitch-Barrels, fill'd with other Combustibles, is rais'd before their Doors on a Scaffold, and burnt, in the same manner as is done before the Houses of Officers of Note, and the Magistrates themselves, at the publick Charge. From this the People has the pleasure to think, that the Government has as great a reliance on the Prayers and Piety of their Clergy, as

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they have on the Conduct and Bravery of their Commanders, and that the Clergy participates in the Publick Joy, and has no wishes that are different from the common Good.

THEY are Calvinists, and consequently Presbyterians, that are all equal without Preeminence of Subordination. I have already declared for Episcopacy in the Third Chapter, and shall say no more on that head. What I would observe relates to the Harmony between the Clergy and the Laity, and their Reciprocal Behaviour to each other, and I would recommend it no farther, than as it might concern our Inferiour Clergy, and interferences not with our Constitution, or Church Government as establish'd by Law. As to the Bishops, I would have all the Respect and Deference paid them, which is due to the Honourable House, of which they are Members. But the Power, which with the rest of the Peers they exercise in the Legislature, belongs not to them as Clergymen, but as Lords of the King's Creation, and the most certain Authority of the Spiritual Lords is, what they can claim as Temporal by Law. The Bishopricks themselves I look upon as Places of Honour and Profit, to reward Clergymen of Merit and Capacity. Their number is very Moderate, and therefore

the Expence not half so burdensome to a Nation as ours, as they are serviceable to the encouragement of Learning.

PREACHING at *Amsterdam* must be a labour, which every Body is not robust enough to undergo; but if we abate somewhat of the fatigue in that part of their Function, for the rest I think Ministers of the Gospel ought to be satisfy'd with such usage, as I have mention'd. If not, it is manifest, that they are unreasonably Sollicitous, either to enjoy their ease and pleasure in general, or else to gratify some predominant Passion. And when we see, that they have no regard for our Eternal welfare, the main part of their Function, all their Arguments for Power ought to be suspected: For the more narrowly we examine into their specious Pretences, the more we shall find, that all tend to promote their own Personal greatness, and Temporal advantage, and that they only strive to have the whip hand of the Laity, be their own Judges, and wholly independent on all Rule and Government, but their own.

RELIGION requires no such Thing. Ecclesiastick Censures are perpetual Torments to the Laity: The chief use they are of, besides puffing up the Priests with  
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Pride, is for Envious and Malicious People, when they want a handle to be vexatious to their Neighbours, and it seldom happens, that Courts of Judicature, where Clergymen preside, are not sad grievances to a Nation, let their Religion or Church Government be what it will. That Presbytery is not eligible before Episcopacy, we may learn from the use the Clergy of *Geneva*, and the Kirk of *Scotland*, have all along made of their Jurisdiction. Such a Power must make all Clergymen Tyrants, and would do the same to all Professions, or any other set of Men, invested with the same Authority the Clergy claim; and I would as soon trust the Inquisition of *Spain* for Lenity and Discretion in punishing, as I would the Rulers of the Quakers in *America*, if not sooner; for the more Men pretend to Virtue and Religion, the less fit they are to judge others. The reason is plain: Hypocrites are under greater temptation to be cruel, than other Sinners; because they are always in hopes that we shall (what many are Fools enough to do) judge of the Holiness and Purity of their own Hearts from the hatred and strong aversion they express against Vice, which must make them unmercifully severe against the least Frailties of others.



The Civil Magistrates ought never to part with their Fasces to any Function or Profession whatever, but keep in their own Hands the sole Power of punishing Offences, be the Crime what it will. We don't live in such Days of Ignorance, that none but Clergy-men can read: A Government that is able to detect the intricate Machinations of plotting Statesmen, ought to be deem'd wise enough to know what is Blasphemy or Prophaneness, without asking a Priest; and where Immorality is discountenanc'd, and Vice punish'd by wholesome Laws, Religion will never suffer for want of Power or any worldly Greatness in the Clergy. If they will think otherwise let them; but if they complain of it by way of Appeal to the Multitude, they ought to be immediately stopt. When Men offend by speaking, the first and mildest Punishment they can expect, is to be silenc'd, which, if others will not take warning by, they ought to be more severely treated.

WHEN once it is manifest, that they only labour for their own worldly Ends, we ought to be very cautious how and where to believe them. They'll tell us, that without having the Liberty to preach what they please, they cannot discharge their Consciences, nor perform their Duty;  
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they'll give us the Examples of *Samuel*, of *Nathan*, and other Prophets, and instance the noble Freedom and becoming Boldness with which they scrupled not to reprimand Kings themselves. They will add, that the Clergy speak on the part of **G O D** as well as the Prophets did, that they are the Ambassadors of Heaven, and that as such they ought not to be limited or controul'd by any Power upon Earth.

**T H E S E** are specious Pleas; but before we are sway'd by them, we ought to examine into the Lives and Actions of the Clergy; and if we find that the greatest part of them are very neglectful in every Branch of their Duty, that has any Relation to the Good of others; that there is not the least Resemblance between the Functions or Persons of the Christian Clergy, and the Prophets of the Old Testament, that there is no Symptom about them to imagine from, that they are inspired by the Holy Ghost, as all were who ever spoke to us from **G O D**, and lastly, that most of them are wholly taken up with worldly Cares, and mind themselves, their Base, their Pleasure, and earthly Comforts more, ten to one, than the Cause of **G O D** or Religion. If we find, I say, these Things, we ought to be deaf to the most plausible of  
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their Pretensions, and take Care of our selves in Defiance of all their deceitful Eloquence.

As to their being the Ambassadors of **G O D**, I have spoke of it already, and therefore, if they will compliment themselves with the Title, without laying any stress on the Signification of the Word, they may, but they must draw no Consequences from it: Rhetoricians may have leave to use figurative Ways of speaking, that in strict Sense are not to be allow'd of. But to know how little Analogy there is between the Office of a Priest, and an earthly Ambassador, and how little Reason they have to insist on the Name, we are but to consider in the first Place; that an Ambassador represents the Sovereign who sends him, and therefore the greater the King is, the more Honour and Respect is due to his Ambassador: But this is a Commission far exceeding that of the Apostles, who were so far from pretending to represent **G O D**, that they abhorr'd the Thoughts of receiving, and beheld with the utmost Grief the Divine Honours, which ignorant and superstitious Men would have paid them.

In the second, Ambassadors are sent to none but Sovereigns, that are all together  
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independent on him who sends them: What Relation this has to the Creator of the Universe and his Creatures, whose very Breathing depends on his preserving Power, I can't well conceive. This is certain, Princes send no Ambassadors to their Subjects, and therefore, if the Clergy will fancy themselves Ambassadors to us from above, they must ascribe to the sole Monarch of Heaven and Earth, who is Jealous of his Glory and Sovereignty to the highest degree, what would be counted an unheard of and shameful Condescension, in a Mortal and Earthly King: A mean ill-advised Conduct, that would infallibly tend to the Dishonour of the most limited, and most precarious worldly Prince. If every Thing is Blasphemy, which detracts from the Wisdom and Glory of G O D, what must we say of their Pretensions?

BUT to return to the Subject of Preaching, I conjure all Civil Magistrates to believe; that nothing is more destructive to the Peace of the Society, or more dangerous to the publick Welfare in general, than to let the Clamours and Audaciousness of Malecontent Clergy-men go unpunished when they become Criminal, and tamely to suffer that Men, who by their Function ought to stand by and strengthen the Authority of the Government in every thing

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thing that is not clashing with the Laws of GOD, or the Country, should openly traduce, and endeavour to render it odious to the People.

**B**UT as for want of sufficient Proof it is not always in the Power of the Magistrate to convince Clergy-men of Crimes, which they have been actually guilty of, the Laity ought ever to be upon their Guard against Preachers when they know them to be displeas'd. When a Government appears Resolute in opposing the least Tendencies to Sedition and civil Discord, the discontented Clergy learn to be angry with Discretion, to make use of sly Insinuations, and vent to their Audiences in couch'd Expressions what in Words at length for fear of condign Punishment they dare not utter. In such Conjunctions every good Subject ought to beware himself, and use all his Endeavours to caution others, his Family, his Friends, his Neighbours, and every Body he has any Influence over, how they give Ear to such Preaching.

To render Sermons not unprofitable to us, it is a Christian's Duty in going to Church to banish, as much as he is able, from his Heart all Envy, Jealousy and Revenge, that he may at least carry a  
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Disposition capable of receiving the Doctrine of Peace. Would Men comply with this, they might be furnish'd with a certain Rule, by which the meanest Capacities would be able to judge of the Integrity of their Teachers, and have an infallible Touchstone to know, whether they endeavour'd to establish Sentiments of Union and Concord among their Hearers, or by sowing the Seeds of Contention, spur them on to Hatred and Indignation against any of their Neighbours. Where that Care I recommend has been taken, let every Person re-examine himself after Sermon, and if he finds all Calm within, and his Mind not more disturb'd with Anger, Aversion or other Symptoms of Animosity, against those of different Opinions, or else his Superiours, in going out than it was at coming into the Church, the Minister has acted the good Shepherd, and done honestly by his Flock, and we may be satisfy'd that his Discourse was not design'd to destroy or endanger the publick Repose: But if after the same Precaution, you feel in your Bosom some Rancour or Ill-will, either against the Government, or any of the Ministry, or else others whom you disagree with: If you feel a Desire of Revenge against any, and your Charity to all Men is sensibly decay'd, you may immediately, unless there is another visible Cause

Cause of your Change, lay the Fault on your Minister. 'Tis he who has seduc'd you from CHRIST, and you may assure your self, that, to gratify some Passion, or serve some other worldly End, he has endeavour'd to disturb the Tranquility of the People.

THERE are a Thousand artful ways, by which subtle Orators may prepossess Men, raise their Pity, Anger, Jealousy or any Passion they have a mind to, without speaking plain, more especially Divines, who have so large a Field as the Scriptures to range in, from whence they may cull innumerable Places, to be wrested and turn'd to what purpose they please. With such a Help, and a very little Skill, a Preacher may infuse any strange Notions into a vulgar Audience, and either set them on to, or deter them from Things without naming them, or openly telling his Hearers what he means, or what he would be at.

MANY Things in the Old Testament were only spoke to the Jews, and could never relate to any other Nation: Many Predictions, as those which foretold the Destruction of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, have been fulfill'd a great many Ages ago. The same must be said of every Thing which has been prophecy'd concerning

cerning the coming of the Messiah, and whatever related to particular Captivities and other Calamities, which the Jews actually suffer'd long before Christianity; yet there's not a Country in Christendom where all Things are not daily applied to the then present Circumstances of the People, or made subservient (often very Injudiciously) to every End the Minister has in View, and what is a greater wonder, is, that by common Consent this is call'd preaching of the Gospel.

I don't say this to find Fault with it, to deprive the Ministers of the Old Testament, or abridge their Liberty of chusing their Texts from any part of it as they please, but to demonstrate the Necessity and Reasonableness of a Caution I am going to give, and which I would have all Men make use of in hearing Sermons. An allegorical Expression often engages, and at once byasses the Hearers in favour of the Preacher. How wonderfully is often an Audience moved with the Exclamation of a Prophet, or a few Words of a Psalm emphatically delivered, when at the same time should the Context be minded, and all Circumstances examin'd into, they would be found very impertinently apply'd. If Men will suffer themselves to be drawn away by such random Flights,  
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their Allegiance is always precarious, and they can never judge of a Preacher's Orthodoxy in relation to the publick Peace and Concord of the Society.

IN all Professions Men ought to do good, or at least to endeavour it, and he is far from having discharg'd his Duty, who can but barely say, that he has done no Mischief. A Man who is entrusted with the Cure of Souls, ought to examine into their Frailties and Spiritual Ailments, to administer proper Remedies accordingly. When a Minister preaches to an incited Rabble, it is not sufficient not to encrease their Fury; it is his Duty to appease them, and turn their Hearts from the Mischief, they are bent on to the utmost his Abilities will let him. To act prudently with a Mad-man, we ought not so much as to mention the Thing that distracts him. It is very surprizing, that Men of Sense should so often trespass against so plain a Maxim, and (though as often admonish'd) still pretend Ignorance in the Flagrancy of their Guilt.

IN many Cases it is difficult openly to convince Men of their Crimes, as long as it is possible for them to conceal, or but deny their evil Intentions, and they often elude

elude the force of a just Accusation by Evasions, which their Consciences must upbraid them with. To exhort an Audience to Orthodoxy is laudable in a Clergyman; and to bid them beware from Schism, and stand up for the Church, may likewise bear a very good Construction; but if it makes the Mob pull down a Meeting-house in *England*, or abuse Men for having Common Prayer Books in *Scotland*, or commit some other Outrage, would not a Minister of the Gospel, if he was not pleas'd with it, on the first Opportunity undeceive his mistaken Followers, reprove them, and in the most serious manner remonstrate to them, that they had misconstrued his Meaning? But if he takes no Notice of it, and goes on in the same Strain against the Sin of Schism; if moreover his pleasant Looks, and a significant Smile now and then cast on the Ring-leaders by Stealth, bespeak his Satisfaction, and far from reprovng them, with unusual Civilities he seems to reward their Zeal; then what must we think of such a Minister, or what can he say for himself? I should be glad to know what Evasions he can have left, when thus far pursued.

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I have hinted before at a Conquest gain'd by the Church over the State at *Geneva*. This Victory was obtain'd by a Sermon of \* *Calvin*, which, to all outward Appearance, was full of Zeal and Piety, but in reality threatening the Magistrate with an Insurrection, if they would not let *Calvin* have his Will. The Government took the Hint, apprehended the Danger, and the Clergy gain'd their Point.

To raise Rebellion is a capital Crime in any Subject, but that a Clergy-man should prompt others to it, aggravates the Offence: From the Opportunities he has by his Function, it is supposed to be always

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\* *The Council of Two Hundred had made a Decree, that the final Judgment of the Causes of Excommunication should belong to the Senate, and that the Senate might absolve the Excommunicated, as they should think fit. One Bertelier, who had been excommunicated eighteen Months before, sued to the Senate to be absolv'd. This Calvin strenuously oppos'd; but the Senate were for re-admitting him to the Communion, and by virtue of the Decree above-mention'd the Senate granted Letters of Absolution to Bertelier. The Sacrament was to be administered to him within two Days. When Calvin came to hear what had pass'd, he soon resolv'd upon what he should do, and preach'd against the Contempt of the Sacrament; he rais'd his Voice, lifted up his Hands, and said, That he would imitate St. Chrylosome, That he would not oppose Force to Force, but that he would rather suffer himself to be massacred, than that his Hands should present the Holy Mysteries to those that had been judg'd unworthy of them.*  
*Beza in vita Calvin, ad ann. 1553.*

ways in his Power, which, besides the Treason, makes him guilty of a Breach of Trust, in perverting the Design of his Calling, to what is the least suspected: It is the same as Poysoning in an Apothecary, or cutting a Man's Throat in a Barber. The Laws therefore against seditious Preaching ought to be more severe and extensive than they are in most Countries. For though many of the Clergy are Resolute and Audacious, yet great Numbers contain themselves within the Limits of small Inuendos, and remote Suggestions, who, were they not aw'd by the Fear of Punishment, would openly vent their Malice, stick at no Calumny, no barefac'd Treason, and make their Pulpits, that should be the Promptuaries of wholesome Counsel, and spiritual Comfort, like the deceitful \* Vessels of *Hannibal*, yield nothing but Poyson and Destruction to subvert a Government they dislike.

I might urge this Argument with still greater warmth, without contradicting what I have advanced concerning the Superiority

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\* *The Romans being Masters at Sea, took all the Carthaginian Ships that came in their Way, which made Hanibal send out some small Vessels on purpose to be taken, as accordingly they were; but being carried home, they were found only freighted with Pots full of Serpents and Adders, and other Poysonous Vermin.*

periority and Pre-eminence of their Profession; For nothing is more false, than that to bring a Clergy-man to Shame is an Affront to his Cloth. As they won't allow, that the most heinous Crimes committed by a Clergy-man can cast the least Scandal on his Calling, so I can't see why punishing him as he deserves, should be counted an ignominy done to his whole Order. When a Peer is put to Death by the base Hands of an Executioner for a Crime he was convicted of, no Body looks upon it as an Indignity offer'd to the Honourable House of Lords,

ONCE more I insist upon it, that to destroy the Power and Authority usurp'd by the Clergy for their Temporal Interest, and punish them, when they deserve it, equal with other Men, are not incompatible with the sincere Respect and highest Veneration that are owing to their holy Function. There is no Profession so useful nor so necessary to the society as theirs; yet those who are of it owe as much Obedience and Submission to the Laws and the Civil Magistrates, as Mountebanks or Stage-players. They are like Fire and Water, to be both valu'd and restrain'd, the best of Servants but the worst of Masters; and I could heartily wish, that all Governments would treat the Clergy, as  
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not to be wanting in either Prudence or Gratitude, I would a Physician, who had saved my Life. I would heap on him all the Kindnesses in my Power, and on all Occasions he should command my Friendship. I would not only believe, but obey every thing he should advise, relating to my Health; but should he encroach on my Goodness, I would shew him his Error in the mildest manner, and should I do this in vain, I would have Patience, and forbear falling out with him for a great while; but if after all I found he was incorrigible, and that nothing would serve him but that he would have the Government of my Family, I would indulge him no longer, and at all Events make him know I was resolv'd to be Master at Home.





## CHAP. XI.

### *Of* GOVERNMENT.



**M**ANKIND agree in nothing more unanimously, than the Necessity there is of Government in the Civil Society ; but to this Day it is undecided what sort of Government is the best. This is certain, that there is no Form of Government, but what has its peculiar Grievances and Corruptions, which others are not so liable to, and consequently in every one of them some Inconveniencies are avoided, either wholly or in part, that are more particularly or more eminently complained of in others. The simple unmix'd Governments are Monarchy, Aristocracy, and

and Democracy. The Supreme and Legislative Power of *Great Britain* is a Compound of these three. I have often heard well-meaning People say, that would every Body be honest, ours is the best Constitution in the World. But this is no Elogium, where every Body will be honest and do their Duty, all Governments are good alike. That is the best Constitution which provides against the worst Contingencies, that is armed against Knavery, Treachery, Deceit, and all the wicked Wiles of humane Cunning, and preserves itself firm and remains unshaken, though most Men should prove Knaves. It is with a National Constitution, as it is with that of Mens Bodies ; that which can bear most Fatigues without being disorder'd, and last the longest in Health, is the best.

A L L Subjects owe an unlimited Obedience to the highMagistrate in all Kingdoms, States and Principalities whatever, and no Form of Government can subsist without an Arbitrary Sovereignty. In any of the three simple Forms there is no question where this total Subjection and unlimited Obedience is due ; but in mix'd Governments it often is the Cause of fatal Quarrels, more especially in this Kingdom, where most Calamities that have befallen either King or People, have been owing to this



this grand Dispute. The Flatterers of Princes, among whom Clergy-men never have been wanting, have ever asserted, that it was a Sin to G O D not to pay it to the King. They maintain their Argument with Proofs from Scripture, the History of all Ages, and all the Examples of Absolute Monarchs, without taking the least Notice of the Constitution, and the Agreement between the King and the People.

As there was nothing to fit to convey this Doctrine among the People, and make it spread as the Pulpit, Princes, who had the Misfortune of employing Ministers that advis'd them to arbitrary Sway, have made use of, and ordered Clergy men to preach it. In the beginning of the last Century it was that this Doctrine had greater Stress laid upon than had been done before, and met with no great Opposition at first; but a little after, as soon as some untoward Tryals were made to put it into Practice, half the Nation rose up against it, and oppos'd this Tenet with so much Violence, that it produc'd the most fatal Contentions. Both Parties were obstinate, and became daily more implacable to each other from the ill Offices of Divines, the intemperate Zeal of Preachers on both sides, and the Vindictive Spirit that reigned among 'em.

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As soon as the Assertors of the Passive Doctrine lost Ground, Ambitious Men took Advantage of the Opportunity, and carried their Followers to another Extreme, who joining Force to Argument, maintained, that Obedience was only due to the People, and even the King's Person accountable for the Crimes of others, if committed by his Order.

THE Assertors of Liberty turn'd the Oppressors of it, till Monarchy was happily re-establish'd almost by common Consent, and the Doctrine of *Resistance* became odious in its turn, which it had not been long, before the greatest part of the Nation thought fit to make use of it again: Notwithstanding the various Turns of Fate these two Doctrines have undergone, and the many Mischiefs the Dispute has occasion'd, the Question remains still, and as each Party pretends to have the better Argument, the Quarrel is undecided. It would be endless to repeat a quarter part of what has been said, on this Subject. I shall attempt no such Thing, but when we have examined all we shall find, that the great Difficulty of determining this Affair proceeds from the Difference between the Parties in stating the Case rightly; for when that is fairly propos'd, I can't help thinking

thinking, but that the Dispute must soon be at an end.

**I**T is agreed on all Hands, that an unlimited Obedience is due, the Question is, to whom? To the highest, the supreme Power, that is invested with the absolute Sovereignty of the Nation. If we agree likewise in this, as I think we do, the Matter is decided, as soon as this Power is found out. This absolute Sovereignty of our Nation is either lodg'd in one Person, or in more than one; if in one we have nothing to mind but the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of that one Person, and the Words Parliament, fundamental Laws and Constitution, are empty Sounds without any Signification; but if the Sovereignty be really divided in several Branches, and the ultimate and legislative Power is possess'd by the three Estates, the King, Lords and Commons, then our unlimited Obedience is only due to such Commands, as shall appear to have been given by the joynt Agreement of these three Estates, without being revok'd and made void by the same Authority.

**A**ND here it is to be observ'd, that as the Power to make Laws must include likewise a Power to preserve them from being violated with Impunity, so every Branch of the

the Legislature must have as great a Share in the one, as it is invested with of the other. For when the Commons in Parliament are assembled to act their part in the Legislature, and by their Authority give Sanction to what they shall think necessary, or useful, the Representatives of the People are come on a very foolish Errant, if there is another Power upon Earth, that without their Consent can make void, and with impunity annul, perhaps the next Day, what they have been enacting with so much Solemnity, and after so mature a Deliberation.

To exert the Power, which comes to their share in making Laws, the Lords and Commons must be lawfully Call'd and Assembl'd in their Respective Houses: But whether they are setting or not, the whole Power of enforcing and preserving the validity of the Laws is entrusted to the King; by this Confidence the Nobles and People repose in their Monarch, he becomes the Guardian and Superintendant of the Laws, whose Sacred Office it is not only to require Obedience to them of all his Subjects, without partiality, but likewise to promote, and every way encourage the Execution of them; and lend his Authority to those who are employ'd

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in it. The King at his Coronation takes Oath to discharge this Trust; which, whilst he does, he represents the whole Sovereignty of the Nation, and the same Obedience is to be paid to him, which is due to all the three Estates.

FROM what has been said it is evident, that the chief end, why the King is invested with this Power is to enable him to maintain the Laws, and since the King has no Prerogative but what is ratified by Law, it is impossible, he should have a Power without his Parliament to make, repeal, or alter any, and nothing is more absurd than to advance, that a Person has a just Authority to destroy what he has Sworn to keep. But to render it still more manifest, that the King has no Power to claim Obedience, and that it is not so much as surmis'd, he should require it of his Subjects to any Command that is unlawful, we are but to observe what every body knows, that all Persons are accountable for their own Actions, and that no Order of the King, how plain or express soever, tho' produced in writing, and corroborated with his Sign Manual, can extenuate a Man's guilt, much less exempt him from it, if in executing that Order he has acted against the Law,

IN times of Danger, if the Safety of the Nation requires that the executive Power should be encreas'd, the People may enlarge the Trust they repose in the King, by laying aside for a while the great Buckler of their Liberty, the *Habeas Corpus* Act. But this is never done, but when Conspiracies and Rebellion are actually on foot, and the Parliament is perfectly well assured of the good intention of the King and Ministry. Even in the Height of this confidence it is very visible, that this Trust is limited; for the Power of Arbitrary Confinements is only granted to the King for a few Months; if there be any further occasion, the People again must be consulted; the necessity there is for continuing this Confidence in the King is to be examin'd and-discuss'd in Parliament, or else at the stated period; as soon as the time is expir'd, the Act reassumes its force, whether the Parliament be prorogued, dissolv'd, or actually sitting; which shews, that this is an Affair look'd upon to be of that high importance, that no Person or Power upon Earth shall judge of it but themselves: And consequently that a very considerable part of the Sovereignty remains virtually in the People, even when they have no Representatives, and have actually entrusted the executive Power beyond the usual Limits.

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WHAT is the most beautiful in our Constitution is; that these three Estates singly invested with so great a share of Sovereignty, can never interfere with each others Power, whilst the Laws are held sacred by all the Three equally: All the shares of Sovereignty possess'd by the Lords and Commons notwithstanding, the same Honours and Respect are due to the King, that are usually paid to Absolute Monarchs, and what is due to the Sovereignty of the whole Nation, as much as if the Legislature and Supreme Power was not divided. He makes Peace and War, makes Bishops, is the Fountain of Honour, and has the sole Power to bestow Titles and Dignities. He names all Officers both Civil and Military, and the Coin bears his Effigy. Leagues and Alliances with Foreign Princes, and the Political Administration, and Management of Foreign Affairs, and the Interest of the Nation, in respect to other States and Potentates, are his Province. As to the Government of his Subjects he has, as I have hinted before, the Superintendancy over all the Laws to render them effectual, and Justice is Administred in his Name.

THESE High Prerogatives and undoubted marks of Sovereignty, belong to the King, and many more, but he has not  
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one that can make him a Tyrant, or his Subjects Slaves. The Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the People are as Sacred Branches of the Constitution as any thing the King can claim. If a Subject offends it is the Law, and not the Arbitrary Will of the Prince, or any of his Ministers, he is to be punish'd by. He that is refractory to the Law, is in many Cases as rigorously dealt with; as if he had disobey'd the most Arbitrary Tyrant; but where there is no Law, there is no Transgression. As the greatest Respect is due to our Monarchs, they ought to be treated with the height of good Manners, and the People may assert their Liberty without making use of odious Terms: They can want no Coercive Power over their Kings, whilst their Name or Authority is no shelter to a Man who acts illegally.

If a Man comes without any Force to demand Money of me in the King's Name contrary to the Law, I laugh at him, and send him about his business, but if he came with a Troop of Horse, or any other superiour Force, I would comply, not, because he came in the King's Name, but because he would be stronger than I. But when he has done this, the Law is on my side, I can call him to an account



for it, and the King's Order screens him no more from the Law, than an Order of the great Turk, or the Mayor of the least Corporation in *England*. But if refusing to part with my Money I am imprison'd, without admitting me to Bail if sufficient, and profser'd, and am deny'd a Lawful Tryal, or that I am tried by an illegal Court of Judicature, erected at the King's Pleasure, then the Rights and Liberty of the Subjects are invaded, and in the first Case the Act of *Habeas Corpus* is violated. All this may be done, and the King not in fault himself: He may be wholly ignorant of such Facts, or be misinform'd, and some of his Ministers abuse his Authority.

BUT if after many Remonstrances made to the King, or his Council, the Injuries are not redress'd, and such Ministers remain Unpunish'd, and in Favour, and Parliaments are either dissolv'd, or not call'd at the times, which the Law has appointed for their Meeting, and other illegal means are put in practice to screen such evil Ministers from Justice: If this becomes a general Complaint, and the King still continues to cut off all hopes of Redress, he then breaks his Contract with the People. It is impossible, that this should be done, but all the World must know it, yet the Enemies of our Constitution, by way

way of Objection, ask us, who is to be the Judge of this breach, which is the same, as, if they ask'd, Who is to be the Judge that it is Day at Noon?

WHEN a Monarch is the Absolute Lord of every thing in his Dominions, and he has not yet made any Solemn irrevocable Grants of Privileges, or Immunities to any of his Vassals, his Arbitrary Will is their Law, and an unlimited Obedience is due to his Commands, not interfering with the Laws of GOD, tho' otherwise the most unreasonable. But such an extravagant Power never lasted longer, than the Force to execute and maintain it, and Experience has taught Princes long since, that tho' the Law of GOD enjoins Subjects to Obey them, it is not safe to trust to such a slavish Allegiance. If therefore a Prince of Wisdom and Penetration, considering, that he has almost every Subject to fear, and none he can really trust, should for his own sake be willing to desist from this Right of Absolute Sway, and share the Supreme Power with his People in a manner and proportion, as he thinks fit, and they shall agree to: If a Prince, I say, condescends to this I can't see, why a Contract thus ratify'd between him and his People is not as binding to the one, as it is to the other. What Men, who are

not tied to any Laws, are Absolute Masters of, they may part with and divide among whom they please. If the Supreme Power was the Prince's Property, and he thinks fit to bestow part of it upon the People, that share of it which he makes over to them becomes their Property, as much, as it was the Prince's before. This would be just by the Law of Nature, tho' the Prince had no reason, or the least motive, but his Caprice, for so doing; but if he did it to rid himself of many Fears and Jealousies, if he did it for the better Security of his Person and Government, his Quiet, his Pleasure, and the Succession to his Posterity, then likewise it becomes equitable according to the Laws of Nations and Society; because it is evident, that the Prince receives a valuable Consideration for what he gives away.

THOSE Disputants then, who in defending the Doctrine of Passive Obedience compare our Kings to Absolute Monarchs, and in spite of all Remonstrances are still applying the Examples of Arbitrary Kingdoms, to be met with in Sacred and Prophane History, to our Constitution, seem to me to argue beside the Question, and are to be treated as Men, who deny the first Principles.

**A**NOTHER Argument of Contention is taken from the Succession of our Kings, and the Right of Inheritance. Both Parties agree, that our Kingdom is Hereditary, but one side will have it, that nothing can incapacitate the next Heir in Blood but Idiocy or Lunacy; but the other assert, that there may be several other Reasons to set aside this Right, of which being a Roman Catholick is made one by Law. They prove likewise, that it often has been set aside among the Jews, and other Nations as well as our own. The Advocates for Hereditary Right reply, That whenever this Right was set aside, it was done unjustly; That Kings have this Right from **G O D**; and, that no Acts of Parliament can make any Alteration in it. They add, that Kingly Government is of Divine Institution, and that consequently the People cannot deprive them of it. This must carry us back where we have been before in quest of Sovereignty and the Supreme Power.

**K**I**N**G**L****I** Government is of Divine Institution by the Canons of our Church: I heartily believe it, and that Kings are **G O D**'s Vicegerents; but I hope this is not meant only in behalf of Absolute Monarchy with Exclusion of all other Forms of Government. **G O D** commands us to

be obedient to the higher Powers: This Duty, I conceive, we ought to pay not only to Sovereignty itself, but likewise to all Magistrates and Superiours, all Rulers and Officers, that either represent or act by the Authority of the Supreme Government of a Nation: But if the Canon-makers, in compliment to Kings, would insinuate, that no other Form of Government had any Right of exacting Obedience from their Subjects, I shall believe that our Church lost her Infallibility when this Canon was made; for from thence it must follow, that the Great Mogul and the Grand Signior have a Divine Right to claim Obedience of their Subjects, which the Republick of *Venice*, the States General of the *United Provinces*, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, are destitute of. Kings then, that is, the higher Powers in every Nation, whether the Sovereignty be lodg'd in one or more Persons, are of Divine Institution, and there is no doubt but the Sovereignty of all Countries derive their Right from God. But as to the Divinity of Hereditary Right, if it was prov'd, which I yet never saw, it would be subject to the same Alterations that Government is, as to its Form. The same Authority that makes Commonwealths and mix'd Governments from Absolute Monarchies, may alter the Right of Inheritance, prefer Females to Males, postpone

pone or exclude them, and make what other Regulations they think fit.

I should not think my self impartial, if I should leave this Subject without mentioning a Scruple that has been perplexing even to Men of Candour. They have acknowledg'd the Contract between the King and People, and the Absurdity of maintaining that Passive Obedience can be due to any Thing but the Supreme Power, the whole Sovereignty, and likewise own'd, that the great Share of Sovereignty the People are possess'd of, has been very visible in all the Transactions of the Nation for above these Hundred Years; but if they trace the Power and Authority of the Commons a little higher, they find it very mean and precarious, and the further they go, the more Arbitrary they find our Kings, and the less Deference was paid to the Commons. They may urge, that Laws are never better understood, than at the time they are made, and therefore to judge well of the true Intent and Design of the Constitution, we ought to look into the Partition of Power, as near the Time it was made in as is possible.

SUCH another Scruple may be moved in the Affair of the Succession; for when we have agreed, that there is no express

Law of God concerning the Right of Inheritance, and that the Examples were the Rule, by which the nearest in Blood inherit, has been follow'd, are hardly more numerous than the Exceptions, where Men have swerv'd from, and disregarded it, we cannot find in our History any thing comparable to what was done at the Revolution, and soon after. In all the Struggles that have been made by the Princes and Barons for the Crown, the Right of Inheritance was always insisted upon, and never set aside but by superiour Force. That those who remain'd in possession, always courted the Consent of Parliaments, was to strengthen their Title, and to be the surer of the People's Allegiance that they might not revolt; but this Precaution was always of little Use, when a more powerful Antagonist arose. This is certain, that Parliaments have never calmly dispos'd of the Succession to the prejudice of Hereditary Right before the Revolution, and both the King and the Lords seem to be invested with much less Authority than they were in former Ages.

To solve these Difficulties, and penetrate into the Reason of the Change that is observable in the Authority of the Three Estates, we must take a View of the Nation's Condition in respect to the Situation  
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of Property, and Mastership, among the Three Estates. At the beginning of our Constitution the King had vast Possessions, and a great part of the Kingdom was his Property. The Lords were few, had exorbitant Estates among them, and some of them were so rich in Land, and powerful in Vassals, that one or two of those Barons often were a Match for the King. The humble Commons all this while were hardly a free People, and had not one Inch of Ground. The Scene has been much alter'd long since; the Kings have parted with considerable Branches of their Prerogative, and that Crown Lands are nothing to what they were, is no Secret. The Lords are Numerous, and many of them not Rich; the Church has but little Land left to what She had, and the Commons have for some time been possess'd of three Fourths of the whole.

THE Constitution therefore may be the same, that is, the Sovereignty is, as much as ever, lodg'd in the Three Estates, King, Lords and Commons; but considering the vast Change that has been made in their Possessions, it would be absurd to think, that the Three Powers should be the same they were in relation to each other. Time was, when the King and Lords were both formidable, and each was jealous of  
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the other's Power; for which Reason neither of the two would suffer the other to oppress the poor and helpless Commons: But the Face of Things is alter'd, neither of the two first Estates has reason to dread the other's Power, and both of them together would not be an over-match for the Third. So true it is, that Dominion always follows Property, and that, where the one is wanting, it will ever be impracticable for any long Continuance to enforce the other.

FROM the Absolute Sway then exercis'd by our Kings, and the vast Authority of the Lords in former Ages, it does not appear that the Commons were not a Branch of the Sovereignty, or had a less Share in the Legislature than they have now; their Right was the same, but they had not the Tools to maintain it. When Kings and Barons made War at their own Charge, they had no occasion to consult or trouble their Heads about the Commons, who could not assist them but with their personal Service, which they had without calling of Parliaments: But when great Fleets are to be equipp'd, Armies rais'd and maintain'd, General Officers are to get Estates, and Ministries to be enrich'd, when all this is to be done, and the Purse of the Commons is to pay for it, when the very

Expences

Expences of the Court, and all the various Pensioners that belong to it are chiefly defray'd by them, it is no wonder, that they are often wanted; and have the Deference shewn to them, which is due to the considerable Share they have in the Sovereignty.

As to the Succession the Kingdom is Hereditary, as much as ever it was; the Hereditary Right has been set aside often, and as well formerly as at the Revolution. All the Quarrels that have been made about the Succession, have ever been decided by the longest Sword; and so was the last, with this difference, that the Dispute before was between the Rival Princes, and this was between the Prince and the People, I know very well, that the Convention was no Parliament, but when King *James* had abdicated the Kingdom, we must have been in the utmost Confusion, if the great Men of the Nation had not taken Care of the Government, and future Ages, when they shall read this part of our History, and be acquainted with all the Circumstances of it, will be forc'd to admire the Wisdom of these Times, and confess, to the praise of those Patriots who manag'd that Affair, that to preserve the Religion, the Liberty, and likewise the Tranquility of a Nation, humane Prudence has never exerted

erted it self more conspicuously on any other Emergency. We are told sometimes that the King's Abdication was not Voluntary; but it is evident, that he was desired to stay, and nothing drove him away but his own Fears. He knew he had broke through the Laws, and that he had defy'd, and on many Accounts most heartily provok'd, his Subjects, and would not trust to what they might do in their Anger.

THESE is no Fact so execrable, but the Memory of it may be useful to Posterity, and the greatest Misfortunes that can befall a Father, may prove instructive to his Son. A Prince who would be Arbitrary, ought not to be hamper'd with the Virtues of a private Man. When Ministers have been slavishly Obsequious to their Prince's Command, and not scrupled to betray both the Nation and their Trust, to serve the Ambition of their Masters, good Natur'd Princes are apt to love them in Return, and think themselves oblig'd to protect them: But this is wrong, a King, who is influenc'd by Friendship, Gratitude or Generosity, ought to curb his Ambition, and content himself with Governing according to Law; but he who can part with a Favourite for a Trifle, and is ever ready to sacrifice the dearest Tools of his

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Ambition to his own Security, may now and then attempt to encroach on his People, without great Danger to his Person. But that King, who lays a Stress on the delusive Promises of Passive Obedience, and has too much Confidence in his own Divine Right, will find at last, that he has trusted to a broken Reed, and that the Prince who will exert the utmost of his Power to save the Head of a Minister, who has forfeited it, can never, whilst the Situation of Property remains where it is, be safe upon the British Throne.

I return to our Disputes, and shall now observe, that where any are on foot, the most doubtful Cause gets Champions and Abettors among those who are not concern'd in nor well acquainted with the Quarrel. Those who at the Revolution were either Children, or are born after it, if their Fathers agreed to or acquiesc'd in the Alterations that were made in the Succession, are hardly excusable for disowning the present Establishment; their Scruples are far fetch'd. If every Body must be a Judge of what was well or ill done in Matters relating to the Succession of Princes, or the Constitution, we shall never want Malecontents, and if there is no Validity in the Consent of the People assembled, and acting in the most solemn manner

manner; some will find as much Reason to dispute the Divine Right of *William* the First, as others pretend to have in disowning that of *William* the Third.

**T**HOSE, who during the Life of King *James*, after his Abdication, would not swear Allegiance to King *William*, and have ever since refus'd to take the Oaths either to Queen *Anne*, or his present Majesty, may have some Plea for their Scruples, at least there is a Possibility that they may be sincere: But vast Numbers are Enemies to our Tranquility, that are neither candid in the Remonstrance of their Grievances, nor consistent with themselves. At one time they deny the Validity of all Acts of Parliament made since the Revolution: At another, they are in hopes of mending themselves by a Change of Parties, and complain of the *Septennial-Act*, without considering, that the Law for *Triennial-Parliaments* had no Being before the Reign of King *William*. Sometimes they are Religious and an Indefensible Hereditary Right is the only Bar, that hinders them from coming into the present Establishment; this they insist upon, and are deaf to all Remonstrances. They can't be convinc'd, and many Prodiges that stick at no Crimes, are in this Point, and no other, Conscientious.

IF this indefeasible hereditary Right is superiour to all other Claims and Considerations, why did most of the Malecontents swear Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Anne*, and why have the greatest part of them taken the Oath to his present Majesty? If they answer, because they are impos'd under Penalties, it is a sign they are not to be depended upon, who will forswear themselves for Interest, and the sake of worldly Conveniencies. An Oath made to a King is an indissoluble as well as sacred Tye, whilst the Prince remains in the legal Discharge of his Office, or others by his Consent, and in his Name, discharge it for him. Those who talk of swallowing and washing down their Oaths, and make a Sport with them, ought, in return, never to be treated seriously, and their very Scruples of Conscience, if they pretended to any, to be made a Jest of.

To swear with Mental Reservation has been counted abominable, even by Heathens. When *Euripides*, in one of his Tragedies made *Hippolitus* say, that he had sworn with his Tongue, and not with his Mind, it mov'd\* the *Athenians* with Indignation

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\* Barnes in vita Euripid.

dignation: The Thought seem'd so loose to them, that though *Hippolitus* chose rather to dye than to violate that verbal Oath, they call'd the Poet in Question for it: The Expression itself was shocking; and they could not endure, that any one should be represented, even upon the Stage, with such Words in his Mouth. If it be certain, that he who has sworn has suppos'd a Fact, that is not actually so, and that unless he had believ'd that Fact, he would not have sworn; in such a Case, says *Grotius*, an \* Oath obliges not. What pity 'tis our Oath-swallowers have not such an Excuse to make!

HEREDITARY Right is what the Favburots of the Pretender, of late Years, have laid all their Stress upon, as if his Birth had never been suspected to have been spurious. The Law, I know, which bars all Papists from the Crown, is a sufficient Guard against him; but it is strange that a Thing so uncertain, (if not unlikely) as his Legitimacy should by Time, and nothing else, be put all together out of the Question. Among the several Reasons generally alledged for *Pyrrhonism* in History, the Remoteness of the Time which Things were

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\* *Grotius de jure belli & pacis, l. 2. c. 13.*

were wrote in, is always reckon'd one of the chief; but in the Case of the Pretender, there is suppos'd something which seems to derive its certainty from nothing else, but that People have forgot, or else never knew, the Circumstances that made it doubtful.

**T**H E Question is, whether the Queen was deliver'd of a Son or not; those who maintain the Affirmative, produce many Witnesses of Reputation both to the Pregnancy and the Delivery: They will not allow, that the Oaths of Roman Catholicks should be less Credited than those of Protestants, because both are of equal Validity in Law; for which Reason they assert, that the Queen was actually brought to Bed of a Son, and ask what Evidence can be brought to the contrary. To this may be answer'd, that it is often impossible to prove a Negative, especially in such a Case, if People may be allow'd to suffer no Body about them but of their own chusing; and as to the Oaths of Roman Catholicks, that notwithstanding their Validity in Law, it is certain that the Popes not only claim a Power to absolve Men of them, but have actually, as far as their Authority could do it, forgiven as heinous Crimes as Perjury; that every Step towards the Reduction of such a Kingdom as this to the



Obedience of the Holy See, must be look'd upon at *Rome*, as a Matter of the highest Concern to the Church. I must own, that was this mighty Work to be accomplish'd at the Expence of five Thousand false Oaths, and nothing wanting but a formal Absolution to indemnify the Jurors, sign'd by the Holy Father, and the whole College of Cardinals, I should think *Great Britain* in no small Danger of Popery.

THE Reasons which those who hold the Negative offer for believing that a Child was impos'd upon the Nation, besides some Suspitions and Surmises of Things, that cannot easily be proved, are these. In the first place they say, that as soon as it was reported that the Queen was with Child, it was every where buzz'd about, that it was to be a Prince, and that during her Pregnancy, the Roman Catholicks, and all who favour'd Arbitrary Power, were as insolent upon it, as the Certainty of the Thing could have made them: That before the Queen was near her Time, she seem'd very irresolute in fixing upon a Place where to lye in, and at last, when Preparations had been made, and all had been ready for some time in one Palace, Things were in great haste remov'd to another; that all this while there had been at Court several Starts and sudden  
Motions

Motions; sometimes every thing appear'd gay and prosperous, at others the Courtiers look'd as if all was lost, and there were such continual Whisperings among them, as are observ'd where some mysterious Intrigue, or deep Design of great Importance is carrying on; and lastly, that those, who by the Law and Custom of *England* should be present at the Queen's Delivery, were not there.

THIS last they lay the greater Stress upon, because the Court knew, that all the Protestants of *Europe* expected a Cheat: What the other side replies to this is weak, for to say, that the Duke of *Monmouth* being beheaded, the King had no Body to fear, and that the Queen was a haughty, imperious Woman, who would not shew so much Complaisance to the Nation, as to satisfy them in this Particular; and that, though the King knew that the Law required the Presence of several Persons, the Queen was obstinate and ungovernable. To alledge this, I say, is not sufficient in a Case of so high a Concern; all *Europe* had their Eyes upon them, had every Thing been fair, no Court in the World would have made such a false Step, when they could not be ignorant that they were suspected. A Woman is not fit to be a King's Wife, who, on such an occasion, should

scruple to admit a hundred Strangers if it was required. What would not a Princess do on an Emergency, where her Glory, the Welfare of her Posterity, the Peace of Nations, her All is at stake! *Constantia*, \* Queen of *Sicily*, not to give the least Suspicion, was brought to Bed, and lay in publicly in the Plains and Meadows of *Palermo*.

To this we must add the Juncture of Time it was done in. King *James* left no Stone unturn'd to introduce Popery, which would have signify'd little for his Reign, if his Successor had been a Protestant: All the Machinations of the Priests would have been in vain, unless a Male Heir could be had; it was the Sheet Anchor of all their Hopes. King *James* could not obtain his Ends without Arbitrary Measures; he mistrusted his People, and would have nothing to do with Parliaments, and there was nothing the Cause stood in more absolute need of than the Birth of a Prince, that at once should blast all the Hopes of the Protestant Heirs, and strengthen his Father in the illegal Courses he had resolv'd upon. It is easier for a Nation to judge of a Matter in dispute, when it happens

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\* Brantome Dames illustr.

pens, and all things relating to it are in every Body's View, than when the thing is over, the Circumstances that accompanied it lost out of sight, and some have forgot, others never known any thing of them, but imperfectly from Books or Tradition, both of which are seldom otherwise than partial.

W H E N all these Things are consider'd, the Legitimacy of the Pretender will not be so clear as many imagine. Eight in Ten of the People then living did not believe that the Queen had a Child; how comes it that above Three and thirty Years after, half of the People in the same Nation should believe that she had, without receiving any further Proof than what they had before: For what happen'd in *France* is as much an Evidence against, as it is for his Legitimacy. When most People suspected him to be a supposititious Child, and the Fruitfulness of the Queen was a thing much doubted of, nothing was more necessary than that she should have another, to remove the Suspicion from the first; and had the Court Art enough to procure such a Male Child in *England*, where they were watch'd, at a time it was so much against the Protestant Interest they should have one, it was no Difficulty to suborn

one of either Sex in *France*, where no Body over-look'd or observ'd them.

I know very well, that all these Things may be turn'd a quite contrary way, and be set in another Light; but I know likewise, that the Probabilities are no more on that side, than they are on this: The Thing is doubtful, and so it is like to remain. It was King *James's* Fault, that the Method the Law prescribes to clear the Doubt was not put in Practice, and we have no such Obligation to his Memory, as by an easy Credulity to supply his want of Pecaution, which perhaps was part of the Imposture.

No Man is less bigotted to any Party than my self, but there are Facts that are undeniable. About the time this pretended Prince was born, the King of *France* was wholly bent on the execution of the Scheme he had so long made for the Universal Monarchy of *Europe*. The Court of *England* was one of his Tools, the King then on the Throne a weak, good-natur'd, easy, superstitious Prince, who was ruled by his Queen, a monstrous Bigot to Popery, a haughty, violent, crafty, *Italian* Spirit. All Heads at *Rome* were at work, and all capable Emissaries employ'd by the Assistance of the King and Queen,

Queen, to reduce *England* to the Obedience of the Holy see. *France* had with her Gold brib'd most Princes and Ministries in Christendom into a Lethargy. A strict Friendship and Alliance was made between that Court and ours, and now the Slavery of *Europe* seem'd unavoidable. The knowing Men of *England* saw this, were uneasy, but could not help themselves. King *James* had erected an Ecclesiastical Court to introduce his Religion, and on several other Accounts violated the Laws; but he had a fine Standing Army, was Rich himself, and receiv'd great Supplies from *France*. The only Bulwark of the Protestant Interest were the States General; But what could they do against two powerful Kingdoms?

It was then the Design of the Revolution was form'd, and happily brought about, whilst the great Genius of *William* the Third rous'd the Courts of *Europe* from their Indolence, shew'd them the common Danger, and made several of them arm against the Delusions and exorbitant Power of *France*. Our Posterity a Thousand Years hence will find, that the Wisdom and vast Abilities of this Prince spoil'd and put a stop to the Grand Design which *Lewis* the Fourteenth had form'd against *Europe*, and sapp'd his deepest Machinations. When

they shall see from the Losses *France* has been able to sustain, how vastly Superior she was to all her Enemies, how King *William* was perplex'd at Home, how many Treacheries he had to cope with, they will be forc'd to conclude, that to have done what he did, he must have been a prodigious Man: No Body then will doubt, that he was the Preserver of the Protestant Interest, and the Liberties of Christendom. Those who are too severe Criticks on the Actions of Princes, and by bold Conjectures, supply the Gaps and hidden parts of History, perhaps will say of him, that he was of a restless Spirit, more fit for War than Peace, and that his personal Enmity to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, turn'd his Ambition the right way, which otherwise might have proved less Advantageous to the Liberties he asserted; but they shall be forc'd to confess, that, as to personal Expences, he was a frugal, a manly, laborious, heroick Prince, and a consummate Politician, less given to Luxury and Pleasure than any of his Time.

To the Foresight of this great King, the Protestant Cause is indebted for the Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, which after his Death, has been confirm'd with all the Solemnity and unanimous

Consent

Consent, that Parliaments can proceed in. During almost the whole last Reign, the Princess *Sophia*, of blessed Memory, was the next and presumptive Heir to the Crown, his present Majesty, by Right of Inheritance, as her eldest Son, now sits upon the Throne, which the Princess his Mother must have fill'd by a Parliamentary Right of almost Thirty Years standing. These are Truths that must be lasting, and which Time nor Faction shall not erase.







## C H A P. XII.

### *Of National Happiness.*



**T**HAT *Great Britain* is a happy Island, and well stor'd Magazine of Native Blessings, whether we look on the Situation, the Soil, the Climate, or the Inhabitants of it, is undeniable.

The first guards us from foreign Insults by the Seas that surround us, and secures us from the Rage of their incroaching Waves, almost every where, by solid Cliffs, and impenetrable Rocks. The second is fertile in most parts, and admits of many Improvements. All the Necessaries of Life we have of our own Growth, and many Superfluities. As we want Olives, Wine and Spices, so we are free from the violent Heats, that are requir'd to produce them; but then of our own Product we have

have generally such a Store as is able to purchase all the various Implements of Pride and Luxury, from the richest Nations and the most remotest Corners of the Earth in a surprising Plenty. Our Climate is still more happy; it is the most moderate, at least the south part of it, in the Universe, and no Country has less Cold in Winter, that is not subject to greater Heat in Summer. What King *Charles* the Second said on this Head was very judicious: In his Presence one Day the Weather happen'd to be the Subject of the Discourse; and as some Foreign Ministers complain'd of the Uncertainty of ours, and were bragging of the Serenity of the Air in their own Country; *\*The best Climate, said the King, in my Opinion is that, in which a Man may be Abroad with Comfort most Hours in the Day, and most Days in the Year.*

THE People of *Great Britain* are docile and industrious, Warlike when taught, and Obstinate when provok'd: They are excellent Artificers in most Handicrafts, but more noted for Improvements than Invention. The most useful of them, that is, those inured to Labour, are indefatigable, when employ'd to their Mind. There is no Toil so immense which they will

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\* *Sir William Temple's Memoirs.*

will not undergo, nor Hardship they will finch from, if the Wages or Rewards are proportion'd to their Trouble. Their very Diversions are laborious, and few are Slothful, but where no Profit is stirring. The removing of Merchandizes of all sorts, especially our Fuel to and from different Places, require great Slight, but more Robustness, and on this Account there is more bodily Strength exerted to the best Advantage, and more Work done in *London*, than by the same Number of Hands you shall find perform'd any where else, nor is there a Place in the World, where the Slaving People of the lowest Rank that will and can work, either get and spend more Money chearfully than they do in this City, where vast Multitudes are continually employ'd in mixing hard Labour with good Fellowship.

IN Shape and Gracefulness of Body, the *British* Nation are second to none; I might say more of Wit and Beauty, but that I think them to be Trifles, not always Beneficial, and let who will count them among the National Blessings, I shall always believe, that if we had less of both, we should be more happy, and not half so sickle; but then to make Amends for what we suffer by these, there is no Nation

tion, where good Sense is more generally esteem'd at its true Value, and very few, where so great a Vein of it runs through the Vulgar. But the most substantial Blessing, and the peculiar Happiness we enjoy above all other Countries, are the Laws and Liberties of *England*. Let Slaves and Flatterers of Princes, with all the Abettors of Arbitrary Power tell us, that what we call Liberty is Licentiousness, an *Englishman* knows better, and can answer them, That whilst we desire no Liberties, but what the Laws allow, and every one obeys them in the strictest manner, the Subject in our Constitution receives a noble Freedom from the same Sovereignty, to which he owes his Allegiance. From Page 302 to 307 I have hinted at what our great Happiness consists in.

IN *Switzerland* the Bayliffs are petty Tyrants in every District, and in *Holland* the Magistrates of every City are Arbitrary in many Things, and Men are Capitally punish'd without publick Tryal; But what we, and only we may boast of, is, that throughout the Globe there is not a Country, great or small, where the Men of the highest Rank can do less Injury to their Inferiours, and even the lowest with Impunity than in *England*. This Privilege, without which all the Joys and Comforts

forts of Life are precarious, is the grand Characteristick of *English* Liberty, and a Felicity, which it is not in the Power of Wit or Eloquence to over-rate.

SINCE so many Blessings then conspire, what hinders us from being happy; for, it is certain we are not so? A sincere Man would no more flatter his Country than he would the meanest Person in it: Our Discontent and Grumbings are publickly known, and all *Europe* hear us murmur in the midst of so much Ease, and greater Plenty than any Empire, State or Kingdom now enjoys. Should any State Physician behold our goodly Countenance, and having felt our low dispirited Pulse, examine into the real Cause of all our Grievances, he must infallibly pronounce the Nation hyp'd. No Woman in the height of Vapours is more whimsical in her Complaints than some of us, and melancholly Madmen have not more dismal Apprehensions of Things in the blackest Fits of the Spleen, than our State Hypochondriacks are daily buzzing in our Ears. In Distempers, where the Imagination is chiefly affected, Men, without any other Remedies, may often reason themselves into Health.

W H O.

WHOEVER would be happy should endeavour to be wise, and as this consists in having a diffusive Knowledge of the real worth of Things, and a Capacity of chusing on all Emergencies what to sound and unbiass'd Reason would seem the most eligible; so it is by shaking off all Clogs of Prejudice, and Fetters of humane Authority, by thinking freely, that Men can only mount to Wisdom. There is no better way of curing groundless Jealousy and pannick Fears, than by daring to examine and boldly look into the Face of Things. As with this freedom, I have treated of the Church, distinguish'd between that and Religion, spoke of Government, and the Obedience due to it, and briefly touch'd on our Differences about the Succession of our Kings, so now I shall with the same Liberty present my Readers with an open View of Courts and Ministers.

KINGS that are absolute, or would be so, are dreadful Creatures all the World over. Considering their Education as Princes, and the Flattery they are ever surrounded with, it is God's Mercy that any of them are tolerable. In limited Monarchies Kings have greater Opportunities of practising Self-denial, and moderating their Desires. As they are vastly Superior to the highest Subject, so we ought not to judge

judge of them as we do of other Men, and the two greatest Virtues our Nation can pray for in a Monarch, are, that he may ever delight in the true exercise of his great Power, and always abstain from wishing to encrease it. These, without any other Addition, can never fail of making him a Blessing to his People, who, in return, owe him their Homage and their Hearts, which to express, they ought chearfully to be at the Charge of entertaining him and his Family in distinguish'd Magnificence, and take Care that on all Accounts he is serv'd, approach'd, and address'd to with the most humble Submission, and superlative Respect, and nothing be wanting about his Person of what the most delicious Ease, and splendid Affluence can afford. This we perform.

So many Services require abundance of People of various Employments, who are well vers'd in all manner of Elegancy and Politeness; the several Branches of the publick Administration demand many Officers of different Ranks and Capacities, all which make up a considerable Number of Persons, of whom several have large Salaries and other Emoluments, and not a few great Opportunities of enriching themselves. From what has been said we may easily imagine, that the Courts of our Kings, how frugal and

and virtuous soever the Monarch may be himself, must be Places of Pomp and Luxury, stately Academies of all manner of Pleasure and Diversions, where Men learn to excite, as well as to indulge their Appetites, and all the Passions and Sensations are refin'd upon.

**T**HOUGH every Courtier in his turn has a Share in these worldly Enjoyments, yet the whole Machine seems only contriv'd to do Honour to the King, and every Creature there appears in his Station, as if he was only born to procure him either Ease or Pleasure. To make this not look as if it was done in Jest, the highest Officers of all are often oblig'd to a certain Strictness of Attendance and several Services, which would be counted vile and abject if perform'd for any other. What makes the Men of the first Quality amends for this Condescension, is, that the same Complaisance, and very near the same Homage, is paid to them by those of the second Rank, and so on; which renders the whole a gaudy Society of subordinate Slavery, where each Member has an Object to envy, and none can subsist without the profoundest Dissimulation.



LET us now examine what sort of People it is most probable would resort to such Places as I have describ'd Courts to be, and we shall observe, that they either are Ambitious Men, who are restless after Greatness, and strive in vain to find a Comfort in being ever dissatisfy'd with their present Condition, or else those of a more abject Pride, who want to lord it over others, and from a Baseness in their Nature, delight in being bow'd and cring'd to by all that stand in need of them: Those that are tainted with the Vice of *Cataline*, and are greedy after the Possessions of others, only to heighten the Satisfaction they feel in throwing away their own: The Covetous with mean Souls and no Conscience, that will beg, if they cannot plunder, and do any thing to be rich. These, and the Men of Pleasure and Sensuality, are generally the Persons whom their Inclinations drive to Court; and, except some few, who sue for Places to be reveng'd on others, the rest are commonly vain People, that love Shew and Gaudiness, and from an idle and plentiful Education, have learn'd to delight in nothing but the outside of Things.

I shall be ask'd, Are there then no Statesmen, no Men of Parts, of Erudition, of Capacity for Business, that will be laborious?

borious? Yes, several, that are guilty of the Vices I named, are such at all. Courts, or else the Affairs of State could not be manag'd; yet the greater the Plenty is, generally the less will be the Application among them. But are there none then who besides those good Qualifications, have noble Souls, and Humanity, and are free from those Vices? Not many, and such of them as take it in their Heads to be Courtiers, are generally Men eager after sensual Pleasures, and perverting the Accomplishments of Nature and Learning to a wrong Study, spend the best part of their Time in refining upon *Epicurism* of all sorts. Good Men, that are lovers of their Country, and fit to be Ministers of State, are scarce at all Courts. A Person who is contented with what he has, that hates Noise and Insincerity, and having no Revenge to execute, or other irregular Passion to gratify, is one who knows how to value his own Liberty, and desires nothing slavish of others; such a Person, I say, what should he do at Court? For a Man so qualify'd, who has polite Learning, and a good Fortune, if he understands the worth of Things, and has a true Taste of Life, may better divert himself almost any where else.

**T**H E Men of the highest Quality and ample Fortunes by Inheritance, may come to Honour, and pay their Respects to their Prince, assist at Councils and other Solemnities where their Presence is required by their Birth, but they seldom offer themselves for the Service of their Country, when qualify'd as I describ'd. It is an ungrateful Task, when well perform'd, and honest Men generally fare the worst. As to Religion and true Piety, should any one who is but inclin'd to it, get into Court, there's \* half a Distich ready by its Merit almost become a Proverb, that will bid him go out of it the first thing he does.

**I**T is incredible what Benefit may accrue to us from this thorough Knowledge of Courts: First it will take away at once all those heavy Complaints we are always making against our Kings about the Choice of their Ministers. There are good Men at all Courts, but not such a vast Plenty of them as People imagine, and the best Judge can chuse no better Commodity than the Markets afford. Secondly, it will cure us of that mischievous Credulity, with which we are so ready to believe, accord-  
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\* Excit ex aula qui cupit esse pius.

ing as we are influenc'd, either by Love or Hatred of a Party, whatever is told us of the Virtues or Vices of Ministers. He that knows how Courtiers throw their own Faults upon others; their Artifices in spreading Reports; the fastening of Slander; the Mines they dig for one another's Destruction; the deep Craft of their Intrigues, and all other Machinations in Practice among them, will have but little Faith in what is rumour'd about publick Ministers.

T H E R E is nothing more difficult than to know a good Man from a bad one, and the Juggle of Courts is to one who is not in the Secret, what a Game of Chess is to a Man wholly ignorant of it: As the one may see the Gamesters move every Piece, and yet not understand what is aim'd at, without being a Fool, so the other may be in all the Bustle of the Court, without knowing what is carrying on, and be a Man of Parts at the same time. The Envy, Strife, and all the Feuds and Jealousies of Courts are so many Safeguards to the Liberty of the People, they never fail producing severe Censors to those at Helm, that watch over all their Actions, magnify their Failings, and heighten the least oversight into a capital Crime; and the false Steps of Ministers are often not so

much owing to the Neglects of those who make them, as they are to the Rubs and Impediments which the Malice of a crafty Adversary has found means to sling in their way. Court Intrigues are a perpetual Warfare, where Men are oblig'd to cut their Trenches crooked, or be unavoidably expos'd to all the Artillery of their Enemy's Hatred.

WHEN Parliaments are sitting, all the busy part of the Year Ministers have no great Opportunities of doing any considerable Damage to the Nation, and seldom will attempt it. The Laws and Legislature are Curbs which the boldest as well as the craftiest stand in awe of, and a better Security for the People than all the Virtues Ministers can be possess'd of. See underneath \* the Opinion of an Anonymous Author. The general Complaints made against all Ministries are, that they abuse the King's Ear and Favour, and employ all their Industry in keeping others from him; that they enrich themselves too fast, postpone the publick to their private

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\* *One good Man may take another's Word, if they so agree, but a whole Nation ought never to trust to any Honesty, but what is built upon Necessity. For unhappy is the People, and their Constitution must be ever precarious, whose Welfare must depend upon the Virtues and Consciences of Ministers and Politicians.*  
Fable of the Bees, page 169.

vate Interest, and engross all Places of Trust, of Honour, and of Profit among themselves, their Families and Friends, with exclusion of all others, and no Regard to Merit or Capacity.

**T H E S E** are all Articles that Men in Power have ever been accus'd with by the Malecontents, and whether there ever yet was a Ministry, that was altogether free from those Faults, and every part of them or not, I leave others to determine. But where is the Man who judges of them without Prejudice? The Courtiers, who are influenc'd by the warm Beams of **G O D**'s Vicegerents, are by their Panegerists represented like Angels; when that Sun ceases to shine upon them, they fall; after which they are thought to meditate as much Mischief and Revenge, to injure Mankind, as those of old; at the same time they become the Patriots of those, who were their Enemies before. A whole set of Statesmen of different Tempers and Capacities, Virtues and Vices, are extoll'd to the Skies in one Company, in another they are damn'd to the Pit of Hell, and as often as these great Men change Sides, so often shall those Companies change their Language: A plain Demonstration that we are far di-

stant from knowing the Truth, and very insincere in our Opinions.

As to be happy we ought on the one hand not to rely too much upon the Virtue and Probity of Politicians, so on the other we ought carefully to avoid misconstruing their Actions. How we have murmur'd at the War with *Spain*! and how unjustly charg'd the King with being the first Aggressor! The *Spaniards*, under the violent Sway of an haughty Priest, would impose Laws upon us; they render our Trade with them precarious and impracticable, equip a great Fleet, and make Preparations for an Invasion, and provide all Necessaries to raise a Rebellion in the Kingdom: They distress our Allies, and treat the Pretender to his Majesty's Crown with all the Marks of Honour and Esteem that can be paid to a great Monarch. King *George* sees it, arms against them, beats their Fleet, and, by the Assistance of his Allies, breaks and ruins all the Measures of *Spain*, and makes them dismiss the great Favourite, and sue for Peace. An *English* Man who loves his Country, and complains of this Conduct, must be an arch Politician.

We ought likewise to forbear judging rashly of Ministers and their Actions, especi-

especially when we are unacquainted with every Circumstance of an Affair. Measures may be rightly concerted, and such Casualties intervene, as may make the best Design miscarry. We should not complain when the Intentions of Men are manifestly good, and they act for the Interest of the Nation, and frustrate the Designs of the Enemy.

It is wrong also, when we differ in Opinion, to charge Men with having ill Designs, when the Matter in debate may be variously interpreted, and admit of innumerable Speculations. It is very difficult to judge what things, of which we never had any Experience, would produce, if they were to be. I am neither for nor against the Peerage Bill, because it is above my Capacity to judge of it, and I have often wonder'd to hear People with small Knowledge speak confidently of what would be the Consequences of it. From such Subjects I own the Men of Eloquence, of Wit, and of Learning of both Sides receive great Opportunities of setting themselves off, and displaying their Parts, but those who are both sincere and impartial will hardly promise to affirm any thing about it with Certainty. In the Chapter of *Government*, I have hinted at the Difference between  
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our Times and three or four hundred Years ago, as to the Property of the King, Lords and Commons. Had the Lords never had the Power of making their Land alienable, and Kings could not have parted with what belong'd to the Crown, the Property of the whole, except what the Church is possess'd of, must still have been vested in the King and Lords; and the vast Diminution in the Property of the Peers, is altogether owing to the Liberty they have since receiv'd of selling their Estates. What Prudence or Penetration could have foreseen this ?

**HUMAN** Understanding is too shallow to foresee the Result of what is subject to many Variations. A Man may be well vers'd in State Affairs, have Wit, Penetration, a perfect Knowledge of the World, and every thing requisite to make a compleat Politician, and yet not be able to make any tollerable Guesse of what will ensue from a Thing which is new, and he can get no Insight into, either from History, or his own Experience. A Man may understand one Game at Tables very well, and be a great while endeavouring before he is Master of another that is nearly related to it; I speak of Games of Difficulty and Speculation: He can never judge with any Solidity which is the best Play,

Play, before he has often seen it, and has an Experience of the Varieties in it, and is acquainted with the sudden Changes it is subject to, what Contingencies are usual in it, and which are counted extraordinary. I shall make no other Apology for the lowness of this Simile, than the Example of *Terence*, who has so handsomely compar'd \* humane Life to a Game at Tables, where it behoves every one, if he throws not what he stands in need of, and could have wish'd for, by his Play to make the most of what he has thrown, and by his Skill supply the Deficiencies of his good Luck.

THAT we may not misconstrue the Intentions of Princes and Politicians, another Caution is requisite, which is, to avoid launching out beyond the Sphere of our Understanding: A Man may be an industrious Trader, of Sense and Equity, and have good Notions of the *Meum* and *Tuum* of private Persons, and yet not be able to determine any thing concerning the Property of Nations. There is no Tribunal upon Earth, to which Sovereigns can appeal  
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\* Ita est in vita hominum, quasi, cum ludas tesseriis,  
Si illud, quod maxime opus est Jactu, non cadit,  
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.

Terent. Adelp. Act. iv. Scen. vii.

for the decision of their Differences, and therefore in all Conferences and peaceable Debates among the Nations in *Europe*, the Ballance of Power must ever be the Standard, that all Property and Possession, as well as Friendship and Alliances are to be weigh'd by. What else could have justify'd our Demands for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*? Many who some time ago complain'd that the Garrison of *Gibraltar* was an excessive Charge to us, and that in time of Peace it was of no manner of use, seem now highly concern'd at the very Surmise, that we are to part with a Fortrefs of that Importance. I pretend to no Foresight, but I shall wonder should the rest of the Powers of *Europe* let it remain in our Possession.

THIS I am sure of, that it is inconsistent with the Safety of our Trade, that it ever should be in the Hands of a Nation so powerful in Shipping as either the *Dutch* or the *French*, and I am afraid they will think themselves oblig'd to say the same of us. There are artful People, who foreseeing this, make a handle of it, for Murmurs and Discontent, by insinuating that whenever we part with *Gibraltar*, it must be by the Neglect or Treachery of the Ministry. If we consider how Selfish and Obstinate most People are, and how little

little they would part with any thing they think their own, it can be no difficult Task to make the Multitude fall in with these Notions, who can't make a Difference between the Possessions of private Persons, where the same Law governs all, and those of Sovereign States and Kingdoms, that are only accountable to G O D. *Gibraltar* is in *Spain*, as much as *Portsmouth* is in *Great Britain*, and whoever may prove a better Title to it than the *Spaniards*, none are fitter in the *Quadruple Alliance* to be possess'd of it, and give less Umbrage to the Neighbouring Powers. If these Criticks on the publick Management were in earnest, and really animated by the Love of their Country, they would never publicly exaggerate the great Moment that Place is of, and how vastly Advantageous it would be to *Great Britain* on many Accounts, in case of a Rupture with her Allies; but consider, that every Article prov'd on this Head is an Argument put in the Mouths of the Allies for the unreasonableness of our keeping it.

G R E A T Causes of Disquiet may likewise be avoided, by forbearing to meddle with what is above, or at least foreign to us; it is ill Manners for Subjects to pry

pry into the Family Affairs of their Kings; their Pastimes, their Pleasures and Diversions, have nothing to do with the State; but is it Religion that awakens our Care, Then why are we insincere? We rail at Concubines in one Prince, who is very moderate in his Amours; in him the want of Chastity is a heinous Sin, it eclipses all his good Qualities, and is a Subject we can never have done with, when at the same time we extol the good Sense, the Politeness, the Majesty, and are always lavish in the Praises on the Memory, without ever mentioning as a Reproach the Incontinency of another Prince, whose Life was an entire Scene of unlawful Love, and rambling Lasciviousness at a vast Expence display'd on a multitude of Objects.

WHEN we have put the best Construction on Things, they will admit of, and still meet with Grievances that are real, and which every reasonable Man would wish to have redress'd, there is a happiness in endeavouring to extenuate rather than aggravate them. Are we angry, that the King is advis'd by so many Strangers, that his Ministry engross him to themselves, and that none of our Friends can get into Places of Trust or Profit, let us examine our selves, and consider how  
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much we should value such Complaints in our Adversaries, if we were in favour, and the King made use of us. We should not forget what we answered to them a considerable part of the last Reign: It is very hard every private Person may order his Family as he pleases, without being controul'd, and the Queen of *Great Britain* should not have the Liberty of Chusing her own Servants. I will easily grant, that it is not pleasant to a Nation, to see so much Wealth divided among Foreigners, but we have this Comfort, that they can only be so for themselves; their Posterity will be the same with ours. Most of our Fore fathers were once Strangers, but the first Children, they begot here, were *English*. When Courtiers, that are Foreigners enrich themselves with our Money, their Heirs spend it among us, and the Sons often with the same Application, that the Fathers scrap'd it together.

BUT should this be a real Cause of Complaint, those, who have no Ambition to be Great, honest Men, who scorn to be beholden to any thing but their own Industry for a Livelyhood, and all that can neither cringe, nor beg for a Maintenance, have nothing to do with it. They are only Courtiers, or such as would be so, that

that can be affected by it. In behalf of them let us cast an Eye on the Remedy they prescribe, and which so many of us hanker after in fear and silence, I mean the *Pretender*. It is manifest at first view, that this cannot ease us: For if we cannot bear the King's gratifying a few of his Countrymen, how should we have Patience, or be able to discharge all the Obligations the *Pretender* has made in so many Countries: What Papist in *Europe* is he not indebted to? I don't mean for their Prayers and hearty wishes only: He has received Substantial Benefits from *Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians,* and others, and whenever he is able to bestow any Favours, great part of *Poland* must come in for a Share.

THESE Considerations I know would be of little weight with many: What if our Purfes pay for it they would say, our Consciences shall be eas'd; Indefesible, Hereditary Right shall take place: Tell us but, What we shall do to get him. Here indeed is the difficulty. To obtain this mighty Blessing, we must in the first place break the Oath of Allegiance, which we have taken to the King. But zealous People will not scruple to forswear themselves for Conscience sake, and if it be a Sin, there are Clergymen enough in *Eng-land,*

*land*, that will absolve 'em of it, even before it is committed. In the Second we must raise a Rebellion and Fight for him; the *Quadruple Alliance* seems not very favourable for such Attempts, and if the *Pretender* could find a Foreign Force to bring him hither, there is less doubt that King *GEORGE* on the other hand would have Allies to assist him, who would always augment their Forces, as the Friends of the *Pretender* encreas'd. What havock would this make of the Kingdom, and when would our Misery be at an end? Can we imagine that either His Majesty, or the Prince, on any Disaster would leave us as the *Pretender* left *Scotland*? They are neither of them counted Cowards as ever I heard of, and we have no reason to think either of them very changeable, when they are fix'd upon a thing.

MANY Years might we fight for nothing but dry blows; for the probability of Conquest is not on the *Pretender's* side, and if his Friends were much more numerous, and their Power greater than they are, his Case would be at best but very hazardous. But what shall we venture all this for? What is the end the Malecontents propose of their Labours? And which the mighty Prize to be obtain'd? The *Pretender* whose Legitimacy is at best but



dubious, a Popish Bigot, who never was acquainted with Men that understood, or dared to speak of Liberty, and has conversed from his Cradle with the grossest Flatterers, and the most slavish Assertors of Arbitrary Power. What a scope is here for Declamation! but the Cause I plead for stands in need of no Rhetorick, or any other Imbellishment. We want to be Happy, and our Felicity is to depend upon the Wisdom of our Choice: The Question is, whether we shall be contented with the present Establishment, and the Blessings, which it is in our Power to enjoy under it in Peace and Tranquility, or renounce both to go in Quest of an Eutopia to be look'd for in a Revolution, that in all Human probability will never be brought about, and of which the very Attempt, whether the thing it self be compass'd or not, cannot cost less, if made with any Vigor or Resolution, than the ruin of at least half the Nation.

LET us compare all the petty Grievances and Apprehensions, both real and imaginary, the severest State-Critick can prove the Nation to labour under, to the Certain and Substantial Calamities, that ever must attend National Discord and Civil Wars, and after that I leave any Rational Creature

ture to judge, which of the two is most eligible. I shall only exclude those of desperate Fortunes and no Principles, that have no Substance, or any Prospect of getting, but when every body loses, by publick Troubles and intestine Broils: For I have not Patience to hear a Bravo, who is ready to go upon the High Way, complain of the Church's danger; or a Villain, who would be a false evidence for Half a Crown tell us on the least Disaster, that the Land can expect no Blessing till the right Heir is restor'd again.

WHEN we shall have carefully examin'd the State of our Affairs, and so far conquer'd our prejudices as not to suffer our selves to be deluded any longer by false appearances, the Prospect of Happiness will be before us. To expect Ministries without Faults, and Courts without Vices is grossly betraying our ignorance of human Affairs. Nothing under the Sun is perfect: Human Life it self is a mixture of Good and Evil: No Mortal can be compleatly happy, and none are so miserable, but they might still be worse. There is Happiness in knowing the narrow bounds of temporal Felicity, and the surest way to Content is to moderate our Desires. Where Schism divides the People, the Heats of Parties must be

troublesome, and the Government will ever find it a difficult Task to keep them quiet, but even Schism \* has its uses, and Orthodoxy it self is not without inconveniencies: But what madness is it, that Men should chuse to be wretched, because they cannot be compleatly happy!

**T H A T** we cannot agree in one Thing, ought not to be a reason to make us differ in every Thing else. Where the Government is steady, the Clergy of all Communions kept in awe, and Religious Disputes are prohibited, many Sects may live together in good harmony. When Men who have persecuted others come to labour under the same Affliction, they find it

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\* *The Clergy of England, by being severe upon the Schismatics, and upbrading them with want of Learning, have rais'd themselves such formidable Enemies as are not easily answer'd; and again, the Dissenters by prying into the Lives and diligently watching all the Actions of their powerful Antagonists, render those of the Establish'd Church more cautious of giving Offence, than in all probability they would be, if they had no malicious Overlookers to fear. It is very much owing to the great number of Hugonots, that have always been in France, since the late Extirpation of them, that that Kingdom has a less dissolute, and more learned Clergy to boast of than any Roman Catholick Country. The Clergy of that Church are no where more Sovereign than in Italy, and therefore no where more Debauch'd; nor any where more Ignorant than they are in Spain, because their Doctrine is no where less oppos'd. Fable of the Bees. p. 63.*

It true what Monsieur *Baile*, † says of Arguments for Persecution, and in some places in *Germany*, People of different Religions make use of the same Churches without quarreling, but where the Magistrate is remiss in curbing the Licentiousness of Divines, the least differences in Religion may be the Cause of endless Troubles. Of this *Hamburg* the most considerable of all the *Hans* Towns, is a deplorable instance: That great and opulent City has been tore by Divisions, and perplex'd with Tumults and Insurrections, for many Years, sustain'd vast Losses and other Calamities, and at this Day labours still under the Misery of Civil Discord, which are altogether owing to, and never had any other cause than the unbridled Zeal of furious Preachers.

THESE will ever be Persecution whilst there are Clergymen, and the Laity will not interpose, and take the means from them. The Sword of Justice, and the power of Punishing, ought never to be divided or trusted into any other hands but the

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† He compares them to the invention of Bombs and Carcasses, and all kind of Machines of War. Those that make use of them first draw great advantages from them, and whilst they are the strongest things go very well with them; but when they are the weakest they are destroy'd by their own Inventions. *Dictionar. in the Article Beza.*

the Government's. I have hinted at this often, but cannot help touching upon it again in this place, since no Nation can be happy, where this Maxim is not observ'd. All Magistrates in their superiour Wisdom should be Fathers to the Publick, and the kindest behaviour they can shew their Subjects is, what prudent Persons make use of to their Children. They never suffer them to handle any thing that might be hurtful to themselves or others: Should a Child cry for a Knife, the Father rather than indulging him would remove it farther out of his way; and should he be more than ordinary froward, and by his bawling disturb the Family, as well as himself, the other would think it to be his duty to make him hold his Tongue. Clergymen may be overcome by human Passion, be violent, and rave, whilst their Zeal is hot, but as soon as they are cool again, if they have any Goodness in them, they'll thank us, that we have hindred them from doing mischief to others, and themselves too.

THE Laity should be ever upon their Guard against Arguments for Persecution: The Clergy look upon the Bible as their own, and there is hardly a Text in it, which most Divines cannot discover a Meaning in for their purpose. We find in  
*Genesis,*

*Genesis*, that *Sarah* quarrel'd with *Hagar*, and made her leave the House, who would think, that this ever should have been made a Type of Orthodoxy and Schism, and be alledg'd as an Apology for Persecution? Yet the copious and imaginative Mind of *St. Augustin* found this Secret in it: He \* maintain'd by *Sarah's* Conduct towards *Hagar*, that the true Church might inflict Chastisements on the false one, exile it, torment it, &c. But whatever is quoted from the Old Testament, we may be assured from the New, that if it be capable of destroying Charity and the publick Peace, it can never be rightly apply'd, and the Laity that have suffer'd by Civil Wars, on Religious Accounts, may meet with a better Text for their Purpose in the Prophet † *Hosea*, than any the Clergy can alledge for Discord or Persecution.

IF we are in Love with true Religion, let every one endeavour to subdue his Passions for the Love of GOD, and diligently labour at the Amendment of his own Life, and never attack others on that Score before he has made a Conquest of himself. Whilst we are neglectful of our

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\* See *Baile's Dictionary* in the Article *Agar*.

† *Hosea*, chap. vi. p. 9.

own Souls, we ought ever to suspect our Zeal to convert others. *Few Men*, says a Noble \* Author, *are so ignorant of Humane Nature, and what they hold in common with their kind as not to comprehend, that where great Vehemence is express'd by any one in what relates solely to another, 'tis seldom without some private Interest of his own.*

BUT when a Man, neglecting all common Civilities, shews himself on all Accounts spiteful and vexations to his Neighbour, when he hires the Mob to break his Windows, and rejoyce at every Misfortune that befalls him, how can we believe him sincere, when he pretends to have a very great Concern, and nothing more at Heart than his eternal Welfare? What can be more impious to GOD, or base to Men, than to profess Religious Motives for what we plainly feel our selves prompted to by Envy, Self-Interest, Hatred and Aversion?

To promote real Goodness, and be a happy Nation, every Subject ought to assist the Magistrate in endeavouring to suppress Vice and Immorality, and be chiefly sollicitous to discourage them by his own Example; and as on the one hand the  
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\* *Lord Shaftesb. Characterist.*

Audaciousness of fiery Pulpiteers should be restrain'd, so on the other, all scurrilous Jest and Witticisms, that can any ways tend to depreciate the holy Function of Divines, and render it less Beneficial to us, should be prohibited under Penalties, and here I would include all who dissent from us, as well as the Orthodox: First to tolerate, and afterwards to scoff at a Religion, is affronting GOD either one way or another: Religion, and whatever is sacred, can never become the proper Objects of Ridicule.

PROPHANENESS and Irreligion above all should be severely punish'd, and the most sublime Wit, if profane, should never be prefer'd in the State, much less in the Church, in any part of the King's Dominions. These are the surest ways to promote Peace and Happiness, at least among the Laity; if Divines will continue their Disputes, let us not suffer our selves to be drawn into their Quarrels, with this Assurance, that whoever is guided by a true Christian Spirit, will ever prefer an Ounce of Peace to a Pound of Victory.

WHEN we have left off all Religious Debates, and conquer'd the great Concern we have for other Men's Consciences, it would be another Happiness, if we could  
cure



cure our selves of a Piece of Pride, which is often the occasion of a vast deal of Folly. Some Men only belong to a Party, because they would look upon themselves as inconsiderable without it; it furnishes them indeed with frequent Opportunities of shewing their Wit, Honour, Steadiness, Intelligence, and Reading, which they know not where to look for any where else; but then often it causes them a thousand Disquiets for nothing: An Argument begun in Jest, if warmly maintain'd, becomes Earnest, and trifling Disputes daily produce substantial Enmities. I could excuse a Man, who chuses a Side, and stands up for it with Obstinacy to oblige his Customers, his Relations, or a Friend, whom he has some Expectation from; but it is unpardonable, that a Man should be ferocious and vehement to maintain a Cause, which in the first Place he is conscious he knows nothing of, in the second never can, or so much as proposes to get any Thing by, in behalf of others, whom he never was acquainted with, and often never saw or heard spoke of, but with the utmost Partiality; and such as despise him, and would not dirty their Shoes to save him from hanging, unless they were paid for it. Could we leave Statesmen to fight their own Battles, and prove their own Virtues and good Qualities, abundance of Mischiefs might

might be prevented. Men have had their Heads broke for defending the Honesty of a Courtier, who at the same time was a Bed with another Man's Wife, or bribing, over a Bottle of *Champaign*, another Minister who was to Audit his Accounts.

THE last I shall speak of, as a Thing desirable for our Happiness, is to have both the Will and Capacity of distinguishing between the Evils that befall us from the Faults of others, and those we suffer on the Score of our own. Some are beggar'd by Cards or Dice ; some by Cocks or Horses ; the Substance of others is melted away in Wine and Debauchery : The Spendthrift is undone at *Bath*, the Miser in *Change-Alley*, and many, not remarkably Vicious, that yet for want of Application to Business, and following it with that Industry and Vigilance their Callings require, can never thrive in the World, are ruin'd by Sloth, Supineness or Indolence. These are generally the Men who complain most of Mismanagements in publick Affairs, and by their constant Murmurs against Ministries and Governments, keep off the Chagreen they would feel, should they reflect on the real Cause of their Misfortunes. If these were  
set

set aside, the Nation would be eas'd of a vast Multitude of Complaints.

FROM what has been said, it is manifest, that on the one Hand the greatest part of our Complaints are frivolous and unreasonable; that on the other, for Grievances more real, we have Remedies of great efficacy, if we would make use of them, and consequently, that it is our own Faults, if, in the fruition of so many native Blessings, we enjoy not as much Happiness as the Condition of Mortals is susceptible of.



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